

# T H E A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For O C T O B E R, 1788.

*Remarks on a resolve of congress, for raising troops. passed October 20, 1786. Ascribed to baron S—*

**A**MONG the many imperfections of a republic, it is said to be not one of the smallest that very often the secrets of the state are too easily penetrated; the least extraordinary motion of a statesman or a minister, gives rise to conjecture. This is pretty general, with only this difference, that at Versailles, Madrid, or Vienna, the courtiers and politicians whisper in a corner, whereas at Amsterdam or London, they conjecture loud at the exchange, coffee-house, or the tavern.

In republics, the operations of ministers are frequently analized in public papers, and thereby the most secret springs are very often discovered. This indiscretion sometimes produces evil, sometimes good effects; a stratagem or a secret expedition may be untimely discovered, and thereby defeated; but now and then by this same indiscretion, cunning and ill designed schemes may be exposed to view; then the discovery is fortunate, and it becomes the duty of a citizen to promulgate it.

We are very raw and inexperienced in the business of republicans, or rather we are too supine and indolent to watch over our rights and liberties. The farmer doses until he is awakened by the tax gatherer; the merchant until all the avenues of commerce are shut; the tradesman until misery is at his heels—but we pay men to watch for us; they do watch, it is true; but for what purposes? Let us at least make use of the privilege of investigating what happens about us: although the secret proceedings of congress are impervious to our view, surely, when the drum beats, we may be permitted to ask, what means the noise?

Now the trumpet sounds—the temple of Janus is opened—legions are to

be raised—but where is the enemy? From what part is the empire threatened? There lies the secret, and since no one's curiosity has yet excited him to the enquiry, let us take the liberty to conjecture.

The British have not given up our western posts; the Spaniards contest the navigation of the Mississippi; and the Dutch may perhaps ask payment of the several sums they have lent us: France, more generous, will do us no harm. The Algerines capture our vessels; certain tribes of Indians discover hostile dispositions; and finally there are some little disturbances in Massachusetts. Let us now see where the thunder will strike.

These preparations for war, cannot be against the English, for reasons which prudence dictates to pass in silence: however, if a reason must be assigned, let us say because the plenipotentiary of that court, has the honour to be son-in-law to his excellency the governor of Massachusetts. This reason, I acknowledge, is a very poor one: but in our days we are used to pretexts not less absurd.

Are these preparations against Spain? It is true, they have possessions where gold and silver abound, the only articles we want to put our mint in immediate motion; but mr. Adams, our minister, being now at Madrid, to sign a treaty with that nation, it cannot be Spain that we are preparing to attack.

Now to the Hollanders—a modern orator, who never was in Holland, prudently observes, “That those people do not understand trifling in money matters.” However, as they are at present occupied with some little domestic affairs, we will venture to presume that they will not immediately wage war against us. It would therefore be rather premature in us, to raise troops now, to oppose their pretensions, upon a presumption that they may call for payment.

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As to the Algerines, it is said, we have an ambassador at Algiers, though nobody knows his name; that he has already concluded a treaty, although nobody knows the contents; that he acts as plenipotentiary, although nobody knows by whose authority; but being in actual treaty with these people, why should we make war upon them? Our armada cannot be intended against the Algerines.

Let us now suppose these preparations to be against the Indians; even this does not appear very probable. To raise troops at Portsmouth, and at Boston, for waging war between the rivers Wabash and Illinois, would be a singular idea; for if the distance is not the entire diagonal of the united states, it is at least 1500 miles. One year would be requisite to raise and equip the troops for that service, and another to march them to the theatre of action. Such an operation of war, would be as weak, as it would be ridiculous; however, the letters lately published by authority, as the immediate preparative to the resolution for raising the troops, seem to authorise this conjecture; it is only a stratagem to fix the public attention, or, as the French call it, a grand coup d'état. Were you never at Versailles?

If they were intended against the Indians, why not employ the fifteen hundred men already in the field under general Clarke? These, joined by the four or five hundred continental troops stationed on the Ohio, would soon determine the contest, to the honour of the united states, and give peace and tranquility to the frontiers; but to march the northern legions to the Mississippi, is a story too absurd to be told even to the negroes of Carolina.

There must, however, be some very urgent occasion to interest the state of Massachusetts in the measure of raising continental forces, which even their delegates seem now to urge the necessity of, without alarm to their feelings, notwithstanding their former aversion and opposition to similar measures, and the unanswerable difficulties, which have uniformly presented themselves.

Since we are in the field of conjecture, we will just ask whether there can be any design against the insur-

gents? to which I answer, that a conjecture of this kind, appears to me more absurd than all the others, because the insurrection does not exist, the malecontents being dispersed, and their leaders being imprisoned, who will be tried by the rigours of the law. That the state has taken decisive measures, may be presumed from the admirable organization of its government, the energy of which far exceeds that of all the other states of the union.

Was it the state of Delaware that implored the aid of congress, for the support of their government, there would be an apparent plausibility in it. But Massachusetts—that state always conducted by superior geniusses—and celebrated for the wisdom of her councils (although not always successful in her secret expeditions)—that state, which bears on her rolls, ninety two thousand militia men, besides an incredible number of fifiers, all ready to turn out in support of government, and strengthened by the independent company of cadets\* at Boston, to guard the altar and its prophets—can anyone imagine, that such a state would stand in need of foreign support, in the administration of its internal government?

If by chance, however, this numerous militia should coincide in sentiment with the malecontents, and a very small number of respectable gentlemen only, should be interested in keeping up the present system of administration, would congress dare to support such an abominable oligarchy? or is it the business of congress to enquire into the domestic administration of any state? If taxes are not proportioned with equity, or any other reasonable cause of complaint should exist,

#### NOTE.

\* Cadets, in France, are young noblemen, embodied for a military education: at Vienna, Berlin, and Dresden, proofs must be produced by every candidate, before he can be received in these military academies, that his progenitors have, for five generations immediately preceding, been noblemen: whether the same formalities are observed at Boston, is not ascertained: they are not however usual in republics; and in democratic republics, they have never been tolerated.

does it not clearly belong to the legislature to redress such grievances, which are totally unconnected with the federal government?

It is said that the malecontents are now pleading for redress at their legal tribunal; would we then carry on a continental war against a people who are pleading? their grievances are not yet perfectly known; perhaps their discontents are ill founded; perhaps too there may be just cause of complaint against the domestic administration; would it then be proper, or is it the duty of any sovereign or body of men whatever, to condemn and chastise, before both parties are heard? Heaven forbid!

Would congress give a life-guard of a thousand men to the magistrates of Boston, while they want the means of keeping even a serjeant's guard over their principal magazine of military stores, now exposed in an open village, to the licentiousness of any mob that may be disposed to lay hold of them? while the only fortified post, calculated for a military repository, is falling into ruin, through the want of ten dollars to repair the breach of a wall, or support an embrasure? or can it be supposed that congress would dispose of the arms, ammunition, and the last resources of the continental treasury, to maintain a garrison at Boston! It follows then that this corps is by no means intended against the insurgents.

Being now at the end of our conjectures, without having penetrated the mystery, we will believe for the sake of common sense, that this armament is intended for some secret expedition; at least that our last conjecture is entirely groundless—should we be mistaken in this, then let us repeat the phrase of a superfine politician, viz. That it is become a subject of admiration, how our federal government can exist; but we will never admire the means, by which that gentleman wishes the government of his own state to exist.

BELLISARIUS.

New York, October 31, 1786.



*Reply to the above letter.*

**B**ELLISARIUS remarks (and with truth) that an unac-

countable supineness to public affairs hath become the characteristic of our nation. From being the most vigilant, we are become the most careless, and (with heartfelt sorrow, I add) from a respectable, we are become a faithless people.

Every inducement that could be afforded to follow the dictates of an honest policy, hath been held out to us in vain. In the best of schools—the school of adversity—we were taught those maxims of equal liberty, which we have made the first principles of our government.

Those rights, for the sound of which the people in Britain contend, but which, there, are understood by the philosopher alone, were here accurately known, perfectly enjoyed, and strenuously defended by the meanest citizen. Although every nation hath at some period illumined the historic page, either by the dazzling splendor of her arms, or the more diffusive light of science—yet no people ever commenced their political existence upon similar principles, or attended with such glorious circumstances as the united states. In other countries the oppression was felt before the revolution began; and it was only to get rid of grievances they already felt, that they had recourse to arms. Our revolution offered to the world a new spectacle; an enlightened race of hardy yeomanry, fired with the noble enthusiasm of liberty, appealing, in the language of philosophy, to the first principles of government, and, while suffering every evil of war, and of a war, too, aggravated by savage cruelty and wanton insult—constantly rejecting with a noble disdain the blessings of peace, when for them,

“They must bend the servile knee,

“And fawning, take the splendid robber's boon.”

And at length, urged by the perfidy of an unworthy sovereign, and a blind nation, making a last solemn appeal to heaven for the rectitude of their intentions, and with a dignity unknown before, taking their station among the powers of the earth.

All Europe gazed with astonishment and admiration on this important scene. Our foes reluctantly gave up their vain pursuit, and the citizens of

America returned from the miseries of civil contention, exile, and poverty; to what? to peace, order, and domestic security? to the enjoyment of riches, honour, and the prospect of security, under a permanent government? is this the case? or is it not rather to tumult, disorder, and faction? to poverty, dishonour, and the miserable view of a government, floating on the waves of popular opinion? Let a short state of our present situation make reply. A commercial nation without power to regulate its trade—a free people insulted by enemies they have conquered—an excellent government destroyed by faction—an extensive empire trembling at the approach of some naked savages—form too humiliating a picture for the eyes of those who love their country's honour. And yet, as if these evils were not sufficient, Bellisarius would add to them, that of suspecting the only body from whose deliberations we may hope for relief; his suspicions seem to have taken the alarm, from the vote of congress for raising troops, and from the speech of a member of that body, to the legislature of Massachusetts.

Preparations are making for war, says Bellisarius. Let us examine against whom it is to be declared—his different conjectures then pass in quick succession before us, like the figures in a juggler's magic glass, until the view rests on the commotions in Massachusetts; on this picture he dwells with pleasure, and in the language of irony insults the distressed of a neighbouring state. If Bellisarius is a New-Yorker, let him not rejoice too soon.

*"Jam proximus ardet Ucaligon."* The same fire may spread; our government is similar to that of Massachusetts, and who knows how soon her case may be our own?

What are the reasons against a war with Britain, which prudence dictates to be kept secret, I know not. The one aligned is too ridiculous for animadversion—if Bellisarius is intrusted with this secret of state, why is he ignorant of the other?

Let us also conjecture, and try, if, combining two of his suppositions, we cannot form a probable idea of the destination of this new raised corps.

Those who are acquainted with the British spirit, and the implacable

hatred that nation bears to this, will not be at a loss to account for the present Indian war—the English have ever boasted of their influence in the savage councils, and if friendship is founded on a conformity of sentiment, firm indeed must their alliance be. The loss of America still rankles in the heart of every trueborn Englishman, and though they could not conquer, they will at least distress.

If then it should be the intention of Great-Britain to act in concert with her old allies, we shall have stronger reasons against a war than the certificate of Mr. Temple's marriage, to prevent our measures for defence.

But Bellisarius says it is absurd to raise troops in Massachusetts to fight on the Ohio. But is he ignorant of the chain of British posts, and of the Indian nations on the western frontier of this state? and would not every American charge congress with a criminal neglect, if measures were not taken for our defence?

I reprobate as much as Bellisarius can do, the idea held up (in the speech before alluded to) of the neighbouring states being obliged to support a governmental minority against a majority of citizens who wish for a change. This position is subversive of the great principles of political free agency, on which our constitutions are formed; and one cannot avoid wondering, that this idea (with some others on which I may hereafter remark) could have originated with one who has hitherto been justly regarded as a patriot, orator, and statesman of distinguished abilities.

But we ought at the same time to be careful not to charge congress with sentiments uttered in the inspiration of eloquence by one of its members.

TAMMANY.

New York, Nov. 2, 1786.

Remarks on the foregoing reply.

THIS morning I took an opportunity to visit my old friend Bellisarius, and after a few minutes conversation on common place subjects, the old man asked me if I had seen the letter signed Tammany—I told him I had; and who is Tammany? said the blind man; Tammany, said I, is the tutelar saint and patron of America; to my shame, I confess, re-



plied the old man, I am but little acquainted with the saints; however pray read what he says. I took up the letter which lay on the table, and read on until I came to this expression, "Bellisarius adds an evil to the humiliating picture of our country, by suspecting the only body from whose deliberations we might hope for redress;" heaven forbid, exclaimed the old man, rising from his seat. Heaven forbid, that I should even in idea add an evil to a country so very dear to me! It is said that saints cannot be mistaken. But St. Tammany certainly misunderstood my meaning in this instance; and hath not done justice to the feelings of my heart. It is not in my nature to create suspicion in others, where I entertain none myself. I never suspected congress of a deception; but I lament to have seen them so often deceived. I appeal to you, my friend, continued Bellisarius; how often, how unservedly have I declared my opinion to you on this subject, that the salvation of this country, its prosperity, and lustre depended entirely on supporting the dignity, the honour, and the credit of congress? How often have we lamented to see the most efficacious measures of that honourable body obstructed and defeated by the partial jealousy and local interests of individual states? How frequently, and how justly have we applauded the sentiments of our late commander in chief, expressed in his circular letter to the several states in the union? How much have we been chagrined at seeing his disinterested and patriotic sentiments so disregarded by some of our politicians, who, with a systematic perseverance, labour to deprive congress of that authority, which is the corner stone of our political existence? and now, my friend, these very men, these very politicians, who so lately and so violently opposed this system, who so deliberately disarmed congress of that power, so necessary to their preservation, are the first to cry out, help! help! as I do, when I lose my stick. When a modest man falls, I am ready to help him up; but when the proud and self important man tumbles, I confess it has not the same effect upon me. It struck me, and I wrote—but after a more ma-

ture consideration, I said to myself—may congress yet be able to give them a timely and effectual assistance—and may this be a lesson to the other states to convince them of the necessity of strengthening the powers of our federal government before it be too late! amen—what could St. Tammany have said more? But at the same time, I wish this assistance to be obtained in a fair and candid manner—it is equally the characteristic of a great mind to acknowledge an error, as to reclaim it—but let us never mistake tricks for stratagem, or cunning for politics.

Bellisarius bid me read on—but when I came to this passage, "In the language of irony insults the distressed of a sinner state"—stop! says he—this indeed would be ungenerous—I never insulted the distressed of a child—of a man—no not of an enemy—much less of a people I love. Methinks as the old man uttered these last words, I saw the tears of sensibility glisten in his eye. After a long pause—no, said he—by heaven I never did:—could my sword be of any service to them, soon would I convince them of my attachment—but I would address them in a language like this—my friends, have you so soon forgotten the motives which impelled you to take up arms in defence of your liberties? are the hardships, dangers, and distresses of a bloody seven years war so soon effaced from your remembrance? how often have you offered up the most fervent prayers to God, to grant you the blessings of peace, and to establish this very government, which in a fit of phrenzy you are now ready to overturn, and which never will be placed within your reach again—recollect yourselves for a moment—consider the consequences, and you will be struck with terror—the abuses which may have crept into your administration, can doubtless be corrected, without overturning the fundamental principles of your government—have them corrected—it is within your own power, but let them be corrected in a legal constitutional manner—if you are dissatisfied with the conduct of some men, be they ever so high in office—dismiss them, and appoint others; this is the inalienable privilege of freemen. Be alike aware of

dangers from abroad and at home, and destroy not the edifice of freedom which you yourselves have erected at the expence of so much blood and treasure—if your taxes are too burdensome, they may—they can—they must be lessened—it is not the want of resources, but the want of a well regulated administration, which is the cause of your present complaints—you have been misled to acquiesce in wrong measures, and you now feel the effects of them—investigate those measures—adopt better, and rigorously execute them—be industrious, sober, and moderate—enact salutary laws, and then revere them—support your government with dignity, and no people under heaven will or can be more happy than you are. This is the language I would speak to the poor: and to the rich and powerful, I would venture to declare that their wealth and happiness depended on the industrious labour of the poor, who for this reason were entitled to a proper respect and attention—the difference of property makes no difference of dignity in a republic—that property in itself excites less envy, than the ostentatious abuse of it—that in times of calamity, a display of accumulated treasure, to the eyes of men who suffer for want, is an insult to human nature—that when to this is added an insolent pride and haughtiness, the possessor becomes the object of disgust and execration. But on the contrary shew a becoming modesty in your conduct, and moderation even in your expences; by this and this alone you will attach the people to a republican government; no gascades in men high in office. True dignity does not consist in ostentation. I would request them to read the history of former revolutions, and there they will find that most of them originated from the insolence of men in public stations—William Tell and his countrymen paid their tax to the house of Austria—they were poor, but were contented—but when an haughty governor imposed upon them the humiliating ridicule, of saluting a cap fixed on a pole, they revolted and overturned the government—Cardinal Granville, the son of a blacksmith, and prime minister to Philip the second, accel-

erated the revolt of the Netherlands more by his pride and arrogance, than the cruel duke of Alba, and the bloody ministers of the inquisition. Do not ask me for an explanation—examine your own public papers printed at Boston—mark the exaggerated description of every trifling circumstance—the multiplied titles unbecoming a republican government, and for which former precedent pleads no excuse. Subjects and republicans are different characters—view the arms on your carriages, decorated with all the splendid ensigns of chivalry, encircled even with the ducal mantle—if liberty is pleaded in excuse for this, is it without ostentation? And can you believe that extravagancies like these do not create dissatisfaction among a thinking people? In times of prosperity they may laugh at it—but in the hour of distress, they will spurn at it. I would cheerfully assist in punishing the man who would violently deprive you of your carriage; because it is your property—you paid for it—but if he was to erase the ducal mantle, it would only excite my laughter.

But consider particularly the offensive expressions contained in the accounts of the present disturbances, extracted from a Boston paper. Do you wish for a reconciliation? if you do, be more indulgent—be more moderate—consider that, as republicans, modesty and moderation are the first qualities necessary to preserve the blessings of our government. Thus would I address them, and then I would join the hand of the poor and the hand of the rich in my left hand, and in my right hand would I grasp my sword, and say—now, my friends, where are our enemies? So saying, Bellisarius took his stick, and walked into the garden.

I instantly returned to town, and committed his sentiments to writing.

A POOR SOLDIER.



*A series of letters on education.*

(Continued from page 220.)

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING now finished what I proposed to say on the means of establishing and preserving autho-

city, I shall proceed to another very important branch of the subject, and beg your particular attention to it, viz. Example. Do not, however, suppose that I mean to enter on that most beaten of all topics, the influence of example in general, or to write a dissertation on the common saying, that 'example teaches better than precept.' An able writer, doubtless, might set even this in some new lights, and make it a strong argument with every good man to pay the strictest attention to his visible conduct. What we see every day has a constant and powerful, though insensible influence, on our temper and carriage. Hence arise national characters and national manners, and every characteristic distinction of age or place. But of this I have already said enough.

Neither is it my purpose to put you in mind of the importance of example to enforce instruction, or of the shameful of a man's pretending to teach others what he despises himself. This ought in the strongest manner to be laid before pastors and other public persons, who often defeat habitually by their lives, what they attempt to do occasionally in the execution of their office. If there remained the least suspicion of your being of that character, these letters would have been quite in another strain. I believe there are some persons of very irregular lives, who have so much natural light in their consciences, that they would be grieved or perhaps offended, if their children should tread exactly in their own steps: but even these, and much less others, who are more hardened, can never be expected to undertake or carry on the system of education, we are now endeavouring to illustrate. Suffer me, however, before I proceed, to make one remark: when I have heard of parents who have been watched by their own children, when drunk, and taken care of, lest they should meet with injury or hurtful accidents—or whose intemperate rage and horrid blasphemies, have, without scruple, been exposed both to children and servants—or who, as has been sometimes the case, were scarcely at the pains to conceal their criminal amours, even from their own offspring—I have often reflected on the degree of impiety in principle, or

fearfulness of conscience, or both united, necessary to support them in such circumstances. Let us leave all such with a mixture of pity and disdain.

By mentioning example, therefore, as an important and necessary branch of the education of children, I have chiefly in view a great number of particulars, which, separately taken, are, or at least are supposed to be, of little moment; yet by their union or frequent repetition, produce important and lasting effects. I have also in view to include all that class of actions, in which there is, or may be, a coincidence between the duties of piety and politeness, and by means of which the one is incorporated with the other. These are to be introduced under the head of example, because they will appear there to best advantage, and because many of them can hardly be taught or understood in any other way.

This, I apprehend, you will readily approve of, because, though you justly consider religion as the most essentially necessary qualification, you mean at the same time that your children should be fitted for an appearance becoming their station in the world. It is also the more necessary, as many are apt to disjoin wholly the ideas of piety and politeness, and to suppose them not only distinct, but incompatible. This is a dangerous snare to many parents, who think there is no medium between the grossest rusticity, and giving way to all the vanity and extravagance of a dissipated life. Persons truly pious have often by their conduct given countenance to this mistake. By a certain narrowness of sentiment and behaviour, they have become themselves, and rendered their children, unfit for a general intercourse with mankind, or the public duties of an active life.

You know, sir, as much as any man, how contrary my opinion and conduct have been upon this subject. I cannot help thinking that true religion is not only consistent with, but is necessary to the perfection of true politeness. There is a noble sentiment to this purpose illustrated at considerable length in the Portroyal essays, viz. "That wordly politeness is no more than an imitation or imperfect copy of christian charity, being the pre-

"tence or outward appearance, of that deference to the judgment, and attention to the interest of others, which a true christian has as the rule of his life, and the disposition of his heart\*." I have at present in my mind the idea of certain persons, whom you will easily guess at, of the first quality; one or two of the male, and twice that number at least of the female sex, in whom piety and high station are united. What a sweetness and complacency of countenance, what a condescension and gentleness of manners, arising from the humility of the gospel being joined to the refined elegance inseparable from their circumstances in life!

Be pleased to follow me to the other extreme of human society. Let us go to the remotest cottage of the wildest country, and visit the family that inhabits it. If they are pious, there is a certain humanity and goodwill attending their simplicity, which makes it highly agreeable. There is also a decency in their sentiments, which, flowing from the dictates of conscience, is as pleasing in all respects as the restraint imposed by the rules of good-breeding, with which the persons here in view have little opportunity of being acquainted. On the contrary, unbred country people, when without principle, have generally a savageness and brutality in their carriage, as contrary to good manners as to piety itself. No one has a better opportunity of making observations of this kind, than I have from my office and situation, and I can assure you, that religion is the great polisher of the common people. It even enlarges their understandings as to other things. Having been accustomed to exercise their judgment and

reflexion on religious subjects, they are capable of talking more sensibly on agriculture, politics, or any common topic of indifferent conversation.

Let me not forget to speak of the middle ranks of life. Here, also, I scruple not to affirm, that whatever sphere a man has been bred in, or attained to, religion is not an injury but an addition to the politeness of his carriage. They seem indeed to confess their relation to one another, by their reciprocal influence. In promiscuous conversation, as true religion contributes to make men decent or courteous, so true politeness guards them effectually from any outrage against piety or purity. If I were unhappily thrown into mixed or dangerous company, I should not apprehend any thing improper for me to hear from the most wicked man, but from the greatest clown. I have known gentlemen who were infidels in principle, and whose lives, I had reason to believe, were privately very bad, yet in conversation they were guarded, decent, and improving; whereas if there come into company a rough, unpolished, country gentleman, no man can promise that he will not break out into some profane exclamation, or obscene allusion, which it would be wrong to attribute to impiety, so much as to rudeness and want of reflexion.

I have been already too long in the introduction, and in giving the reasons for what I propose shall make a part of this branch of the subject, and yet I must make another preliminary remark: there is the greater necessity for uniting piety and politeness in the system of family example, that as piety is by that means inculcated with the greatest advantage, so politeness can scarcely be attained in any other way. It is very rare that persons reach a higher degree of politeness, than what they have been formed to in the families of their parents and other near relations. True politeness does not consist in dress, or a few motions of the body, but in a habit of sentiment and conversation: the first may be learned from a master, and in a little time; the last only by a long and constant intercourse with those who possess, and are therefore able to impart it. As the difficulty is certainly greatest with the female sex, because they

## NOTE.

\* The authors of these essays, commonly called by writers who make mention of them, the gentlemen of Port-Royal, were a society of Jansenists in France, who used to meet at that place; all of whom were eminent for literature, and many of them of high rank, as will be evident by mentioning the names of Pascal, Arnaud, and the prince of Conti. The last was the author of the essay from which the above remark is taken.



have fewer opportunities of being abroad in the world, I shall take an example from among them. Suppose a man of low birth living in the country, by industry and parsimony has become wealthy, and has a daughter to whom he desires to give a genteel education. He sends her to your city to a boarding-school, for the other which is nearer me, you are pleased not to think sufficient for that purpose. She will speedily learn to buy expensive and fashionable clothes, and most probably be in the very height and extravagance of the fashion, one of the surest signs of a vulgar taste. She may also, if her capacity is tolerable, get rid of her rustic air and carriage; and, if it be better than ordinary, learn to discourse upon whatever topic is then in vogue, and comes in immediately after the weather, which is the beginning of all conversation. But as her residence is only for a time, she returns home; where she can see or hear nothing but as before. Must she not relapse speedily into the same vulgarity of sentiment, and perhaps the same provincial dialect, to which she had been accustomed from her youth? Neither is it impossible that she may just retain as much of the city ceremonial, as by the incongruous mixture, will render her ridiculous. There is but one single way of escape, which we have seen some young women of merit and capacity take, which is to contract an intimacy with persons of liberal sentiments and higher breeding, and be as little among their relations as possible. I have given this description to convince you that it is in their father's house, and by the conversation and manners to which they are there accustomed, that children must be formed to politeness, as well as to virtue. I carry this matter so far, that I think it a disadvantage to be bred too high, as well as too low. I do not desire, and have always declined any opportunities given me of having my children reside long in families of high rank. I was afraid they would contract an air and manner unsuitable to what was to be their condition for the remainder of their lives. I would wish to give my children as just, as noble, and as elegant sentiments as possible, to fit them for

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rational conversation; but a dress and carriage suited to their station, and not inconsistent with the meekness of the gospel.

Though the length of this digression, or explanatory introduction, has made it impossible to say much in this letter on forming children's character and manners by example, before I conclude I will give one direction which is pretty comprehensive. Give the utmost attention to the manner of receiving and entertaining strangers in your family, as well as to your sentiments and expressions with regard to them when they are gone. I am fully persuaded, that the plainest and shortest road to real politeness of carriage, and the most amiable sort of hospitality, is to think of others just as a christian ought, and to express these thoughts with modesty and candor. This will keep you at an equal distance from a surly and morose carriage on the one hand, and a fawning cringing obsequiousness, or unnecessary compliment and ceremony, on the other. As these are circumstances to which children in early life are very attentive, and which occur constantly in their presence, it is of much moment what sentiments they imbibe from the behaviour of their parents. I do not mean only their learning from them an ease and dignity of carriage, or the contrary; but also, some moral or immoral habits of the last consequence. If they perceive you happy and lifted up with the visit or countenance of persons of high rank, solicitous to entertain them properly, submissive and flattering in your manner of speaking to them, vain and apt to boast of your connexion with them: and if, on the contrary, they perceive you hardly civil to persons of inferior station or narrow circumstances, impatient of their company, and immediately seizing the opportunity of their departure to despise or expose them: will not this naturally lead the young mind to consider riches and high station as the great sources of earthly happiness? Will it not give a strong bias to their whole desires and studies, as well as visibly affect their behaviour to others in social life. Do not think that this is too nice and refined; the first impressions upon young persons, though inconsiderable in

themselves, have often a great as well as lasting effect.

I remember to have read, many years ago, in the archbishop of Cambray's education of a daughter, an advice to parents to let their children perceive that they esteem others, not according to their station or outward splendor, but their virtue and real worth. It must be acknowledged that there are some marks of respect due to men, according to their place in civil life, which a good man would not fail to give them, even for conscience sake. But it is an easy matter, in perfect consistency with this, by more frequent voluntary intercourse, as well as by our usual manner of speaking, to pay that homage which is due to piety, and to express our contempt or indignation at vice, or meanness, of every kind. I think it no inconsiderable addition to this remark, that we should be as cautious of estimating *happiness* as *virtue* by outward station; and keep at the same distance from envying as from flattering the great.

But what I must particularly recommend to you, is, to avoid that common but detestable custom of receiving persons with courtesy; and all the marks of real friendship in your house; and the moment they are gone, falling upon their character and conduct with unmerciful severity. I am sensible there are some cases, though they are not numerous, in which it may be lawful to say of others behind their back, what it would be at least imprudent or unsafe to say in their own presence. Neither would I exclude parents from the advantage of pointing out to their children the mistakes and vices of others, as a warning or lesson of instruction to themselves. Yet as detraction in general is to be avoided at all times; so of all others, the most improper season to speak to any man's prejudice, is, after you have just received and treated him in a hospitable manner, as a friend. There is something mean in it, and something so nearly allied to hypocrisy and dissimulation, that I would not choose to act such a part even to those whom I would take another opportunity of pointing out to my children, as persons whose conversation they should avoid, and whose conduct they should abhor.

In every station, and among all ranks, this rule is often transgressed; but there is one point in which it is more frequently and more universally transgressed than in any other, and that is by turning the absent into ridicule, for any thing odd or awkward in their behaviour. I am sorry to say that this is an indecorum that prevails in several families of high rank. A man of inferior station, for some particular reason is admitted to their company. He is perhaps not well acquainted with the rules of politeness, and the presence of his superiors, to which he is unaccustomed, increases his embarrassment. Immediately on his departure, a petulant boy or giddy girl will set about mimicking his motions and repeating his phrases, to the great entertainment of the company, who apparently derive much self-satisfaction from a circumstance in which there is no merit at all. If any person renders himself justly ridiculous, by affecting a character which he is unable to sustain, let him be treated with the contempt he deserves. But there is something very ungenerous in people treating their inferiors with disdain, merely because the same providence that made their ancestors great, left the others in a lower sphere.

It has often given me great indignation to see a gentleman or his wife, of real worth, good understanding, but simple manners, despised and ridiculed for a defect which they could not remedy, and that often by persons the most insignificant and frivolous, who never uttered a sentence in their lives that deserved to be remembered or repeated. But if this conduct is ungenerous in the great, how diverting is it to see the same disposition carried down through all the inferior ranks, and shewing itself in a silly triumph of every class over those who are supposed to be below them? I have known many persons, whose station was not superior to mine, take great pleasure in expressing their contempt of *vulgar ideas* and *low life*; and even a tradesman's wife in a city, glorying over the unpolished manners of her country acquaintance.

Upon the whole, as there is no disposition to which young persons are more prone than derision, or, as the author I cited above, Mr. Fenelon,

expresses it, *un esprit moqueur et malin*—and few that parents are more apt to cherish—under the idea of its being a sign of sprightliness and vivacity—there is none which a pious and prudent parent should take greater care to restrain by admonition, and destroy by a contrary example. I am,

Sir, &c.

[ *To be continued.* ]

*Queries, and answers thereto, respecting marriage. The former by an anonymous writer. The latter by the rev. dr. John Wüther-  
spoon.*

Q. 1 IS it lawful, or consistent with the common rights of society, to enter the band of marriage before publication of the bans be made to the several societies, civil or religious, &c.?

Answer. The only difficulty here must arise from the ambiguity of the word “lawful.” Let us therefore consider it fully. Marriage is, doubtless, an ordinance of the Creator, and a part of natural law; and in this view it hath a great number of requisites or conditions, without which it cannot be lawful: such as, that the parties be free, or single persons—that the consent be mutual—that both parties be not only *compotes mentis*, but of an age sufficient to give rational consent—that they be not within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity—and some others. Nothing can be more evident than that a marriage, contracted where any one of these conditions is wanting, must be highly criminal, and in all or most of the cases, is to be considered as in itself void: nor does it make any difference whether it be with or without proclamation of bans, with or without a licence, or whether the solemnity is performed by a clergyman or a layman. There is even another class of conditions, the want of which makes a marriage either wholly unlawful or so highly inexpedient, that it will be hard to say whether it ought to be called barely imprudent. Perhaps it would be speaking with as great propriety to say, that though human laws cannot, or ought not, to prevent or dissolve a marriage in such cases, yet it is truly criminal in the sight of God: such as, when one of

the parties is known to have broken contract with another—when there is an extreme difference of age—when there are known to be on either side incurable diseases, and such as will infect the offspring—and many others. It is probably with a view to these, that the maxim is laid down by canonists, *Multa impediunt matrimonium contrahendum, quae non dirimunt contractum*; i. e. Many things are just objections to marriage before it be made, that will not dissolve it after. Now, the querist must be sensible, that none of all these have any connexion with the word lawful, as used in his query. I have only mentioned them, that the distinction between them and what follows, might be the more clear.

Marriage, then, besides its being part of natural law, holds a place of the first importance in the social compact. It is the radical relation from which all others take their rise. Therefore the society have a right to know when and with whom marriage is contracted. Nay, it is both the right and the duty of the governing part of every society, to lay down the way by which a marriage shall be known, and be considered as legal, in order to prevent causeless separations, to ascertain the legitimacy of the offspring, and determine the right of succession. Thus far the civil power interferes, and the proclamation of bans, licence, or any prescribed rites of solemnization, are for no other purpose. The question, therefore, proposed above, is, as civilians say, a question not of right, but of fact. In any civil society, where proclamation of bans is required by law, it is unlawful to omit it, nor will it be omitted by a conscientious person, even where the execution of the law is so slack, that little danger is to be apprehended from the neglect. Much the same thing is to be said of a licence; if the law requires it, doubtless it ought to be taken; if otherwise, or if no penalty attends the want of it, probably very few will give themselves any trouble about it.

The difficulty that perplexes many persons, arises from the following circumstance: in some countries, particularly in North-Britain (not in South), and, so far as I have obser-

ved, in most provinces of America, the law is by far too lax upon this point. A marriage, which afterwards by public notoriety, becomes sufficiently valid to oblige the parties to adhere, and to legitimate their offspring, may yet be contracted at first, without any form almost whatever, and in the most secret manner. This is attended by many bad consequences, as it gives an opportunity for causeless and wanton separations, encourages rash marriages, and particularly the seduction of young women, without the knowledge and consent of their parents. An obscure apprehension of these bad consequences, makes the thing in some degree, of ill fame, but not enough so to hinder the frequent practice. One remedy for this is, that particular religious societies should make rules upon the subject, for their own members. This several of them, I believe, do. The chief thing they are to attend to, is, that the rules be very plain and very reasonable in themselves; otherwise, having nothing but religious discipline to enforce them, such nominal professors of their party as have no real religion, will not be easily held by them.

To the first question, then, after the way is thus paved, I answer, that every well regulated society, civil and religious, ought to have certain clear and plain rules for ascertaining marriages, and thereby establishing an important relation in the social state. Religious societies ought to content themselves with the rules laid down by the civil law, where they are tolerable, and add to them where they are weak; where neither the one nor the other have taken sufficient care, judicious and prudent persons ought to give such a degree of solemnity and notoriety to their marriages, as to remove all suspicion of fraud, and prevent all possibility of after deceit. Publication of bans is one of the best means of doing this, both in its own nature, and from the long practice of it in the christian church. It is therefore among us expedient, not necessary.

Q. 2. Is not the authoritative consent of the supreme magistrate, commonly called a licence, only given upon supposition of publication having been made, as aforesaid?

Answer. A licence is supposed to be given after such enquiry as to guard against the same bad effects which proclamation is intended to prevent. Since, however, many of the persons entrusted with giving out licences, may be ignorant, careless, or unfaithful, it is a much worse way than the former. As things now stand, he is an injudicious minister or magistrate, who would marry persons wholly unknown to him, merely upon a licence.

Q. 3. Why is marriage in the licences termed holy matrimony?

Ans. I do not know, certainly; and it is not worth while to enquire; because, whether the language is proper or not, it is the same thing in its effect. It is possible, and even probable, that the expression has been handed down to us from the church of Rome, where marriage is considered as a sacrament. This, however, can be no cause of scruple to any considerate man, for it is the governor's language, and not his. The far greater number of persons enter into that state with principles and views much less holy than they ought.

Q. 4. The administration of the marriage vow is the dispensation of a civil privilege. In what sense is this service performed by a minister? as an officer of the church or state?

Ans. The marriage vow itself is not a civil privilege, but a most sacred personal obligation, on taking possession of a natural right. The manner in which, and the person by whom it is publicly solemnized, are subject to the order of society, civil or ecclesiastical, or both. Either of them may make use of the minister as its officer or substitute, because he is a fellow-christian and fellow-citizen, as well as a minister. It is extremely suitable that marriage should be accompanied with exhortation and prayer, because there is no act a man does, or obligation he enters into, in his whole life, on which his happiness, spiritual and temporal, so much depends. If any, however, scruples making use of a minister in this service, it is not essential in itself, nor is it absolutely required by law in this part of the world. I am,

Yours, &c.

EPAMINONDAS.



## ATTICUS.

*(Continued from page 224.)*

## No. IV. Remarks on names.

*It is doing some service to human society, to amuse innocently.*

## WEST'S preface to PINDAR.

IT seems probable that at the first assumption of surnames, a simple addition was made to the father or mother's first name, as among the English, *son* was joined thereto; the Irish and Scotch prefixed *Mac* and *O*, the Welch *Ap*, the French *Du* and *Fitz*. And it's not unlikely that all such as any way relate to such parts of farming and trades, as were then known, and to religion, or to winds, fishes, birds, and beasts, might begin about the same time. Whether those that are the names of towns, villages, and noted places, had the same origin or not, we are much in the dark; for most writers on the subject, that have fallen in my way, seem to build upon conjectures only. Camden says, that surnames in England were taken up before the conquest, but that they were never fully established, 'till the time of Edward the second.—It is also said, that in domesday book (which was made in the reign of William the conqueror) a few names have an addition, with *De* prefixed; but the inferior people are noted simply by their christian names, without any surnames at all.

In these days, we frequently meet with the prenomens, or last name, which must, without doubt, have been invented in later times, and conferred or taken up, from some circumstances attending their parents, or their birth, or from whim or accident.

Several of the Roman authors mention, with a kind of veneration, the propriety of giving what they call fortunate names. We are happily free from that sort of superstition. And if they had seen the name of Pitt belong to a man, who, besides attaining to the highest confidence of his prince, is so much and so deservedly the darling of millions of his fellow-subjects, it would probably have contributed to remove their mistake; for they could not have imagined any good omen in the name.

But though we do not now expect

people's names to be in any shape significant either of their business or tempers, it affords some amusement, when in reading the news-papers, we find either a resemblance or disagreement that is striking. As when either in the army or fleet we found Hawk, Lion, Slaughter, Eager, Firebrace, Wolfe, Armstrong, Fury, Bangham, and such like, they seemed suitable to their business; but when we met among them with Coward, Peace, Humble, Lamb, or of such significations, it appeared strange how they came either to seek or get such employ! It seems pleasant when among the preachers of any religious denomination, we meet with the names of Shepherd, Angel, Lamb, Thorowgood, Allgood, Godscall, Grace, Best, or any other that implies uprightness of heart and purity of conduct; whereas, in that important business to find the names of Airey, Killchrist, Conceit, Lovemoney, Love-rule, Dirty, and such sort, they seem very disagreeable to their calling: among the gentlemen of the law, or the magistracy, it sounds very well to hear or read the names of Makepeace, Justice, Goodman, Wisdom, Virtue, Honour: but it is grievously malapropos, when, instead thereof, we find Money, Leech, Grippall (which, if the last *p* was an *c*, would be more expressive) Anyside, Pincher, and the like. When we read of Tickle, Fortune, Honeyman, Cash, or Court-hope, aspiring to the great offices of the state, we conclude they are very likely to succeed; nor we do at all wonder when we find among the list of bankrupts, Borrow, Runindebt, Crackeredit, Overstrain, Easy, and so forth.—We are diverted when, among tavernkeepers, we find Bacchus, Vintner, Alefounder, Tapscott, and in like manner of all other callings.

Among our Indians, it is not uncommon to meet with names, which seem to have been given for some quality or peculiarity of mind or body, or some exploits performed; and therefore one may conclude, they were added to their family names, after they grew up, such as Silverherb, Chiefman, Lastnight, Bigarm, Killbuck, Foursteps, and others. And does not this warrant a supposition that many

of our names may have originated in the same manner?

Slaves, having no property to possess or descend to their posterity, have usually but one name, and that often such an one as has belonged to the most eminent persons of antiquity! One would think the gross absurdity of giving to poor creatures, who are divested of the common rights of humanity, such names as once distinguished the legislators and masters of the world, should have deterred any reasonable being from conferring them.

But of all mistakes about names, that seem to be the most unreasonable, where a man imagines he has more merit, or is entitled to more respect, because he bears the name of an ancestor who gained applause and honour, by exerting his abilities, or making use of his opportunities to do some great and good actions for the benefit of his country, or of mankind in general. The following lines on that subject, from "the mirror for magistrates," are worth reading, both for sentiment and the language, considering that they were written two hundred years ago.

"What doth avail to have a princely place,

"A name of honour, and a high degree?

"To come by kindred of a noble race,

"Except we princely, worthy, noble be?

"The fruit declares the goodness of the tree.

"Do brag no more of birth, or lineage then,

"For virtue, grace and manners make the man."

ATTICUS.

*Philad. April 27, 1767.*

*(To be continued.)*

### THE VISITANT.

[ *Continued from page 223.* ]

#### No. V. *On the wants and desires of mankind.*

IT was a favourite maxim among the ancient philosophers, particularly the stoics, that a man is perfect in proportion as he stands in need of few things. If by this it is meant, that superior beings know not so ma-

ny wants as we know; and that the increased number of those wants is an argument of the inferiority of our natures, I shall not dispute the truth of the proposition; though, by the way, it must be observed, that the lower species of animals have also but few wants, and that, therefore, this circumstance seems to be, of itself, no mark either of a superior or of an inferior nature. But if it is meant, that a man who is accustomed to few enjoyments, and consequently has few desires of enjoyment, is, considered as one of the human species, more perfect than he, whose sphere of enjoyment has been enlarged, and whose desires have consequently become numerous, I think the maxim is false, and the reverse of it true; namely, that we are perfect in proportion as our wants and desires are multiplied, and as we have opportunities of supplying those wants, and gratifying those desires.

This opinion may appear odd and unaccountable. Wants and imperfections, it may be said, are synonymous, or nearly synonymous terms; how then can our wants contribute to our perfection? I shall therefore express myself in a different manner; and say, that we are perfect in proportion as our pleasures are multiplied. This observation is familiar, and will be universally allowed to be true. It contains, however, the same sentiment, which I thought would appear odd and unaccountable, when clothed in different words. For let us consider the objects of our pleasures; are they not first the objects of our desires? And do not our desires always aim at objects, which we wish to be, but are not, in possession of? If, then, it is true, that we are perfect in proportion as our pleasures are multiplied; it must, likewise, be true, that we are perfect in proportion as our wants and desires are multiplied, and as we have opportunities of supplying those wants, and gratifying those desires.

The objects of our pleasures are not only the same with the objects of our desires; but the pleasure we receive from them is proportioned to the violence, with which we desire them. The violence of our desires is proportioned, among other things, to the difficulties we must surmount in grati-

ying them: for opposition, provided it is not so great as wholly to discourage us, has a contrary effect; it animates us in that pursuit, in which we are opposed. On the other hand, what is easily obtained is little valued. No exertion of the faculties is required; the mind is not awakened from its indolence; and the transition from indolence to passion is more difficult than the transition from one passion to another. Why does the artful mistress disappoint the impatient ardour of her lover, by affected delays of his happiness? She knows that those delays inflame his passion. Why is the ardour of the lover so soon lost in the indifference of the husband? Perhaps the conduct of the wife becomes too much the reverse of that, which the mistress observed.

It has been remarked, that nature furnishes us with the rough materials of our conveniency and happiness; but leaves it to our own industry to work them up for use. If we would have rich crops, we must plough and cultivate the soil. If we would have delicious fruit, the trees, that yield it, must be raised and pruned with care. The grapes will not spontaneously produce wine; nor the olives, oil. All must be the effect of industry. The same observations may be made with regard to ourselves. The fond anxious mother can tell the uneasy days and tedious nights she has passed in bringing up her children to be the props of her old age. The father, proud of the growing fame of his son, can declare what sums have been expended, and what pains have been taken, to qualify him to act his part in life with reputation, and transmit his name and character with dignity to posterity. Those who have acquired eminent accomplishments, can inform us of the time, the toil, the attention, employed in the acquisition. Whence this disposition of things? Nature does nothing in vain; she does nothing cruel. All her ends are wise and good; all her means are proper and conducive to her ends. The reason, then, why she has left us in want of so many things, must be, because such a situation is necessary to our happiness. She does not preclude us from pleasure and conveniency; but she has rendered a vigorous exertion of

our faculties requisite before we can enjoy them.

The human mind delights in action. Indolence is contrary to our nature, and inconsistent with our improvement and happiness. Where it predominates in the soul, we become tired and languid; incapable of pursuing pleasure with vigour, and incapable of relishing enjoyments which time and chance throw in our way. In order to prevent, or to relieve us from such a benumbing state, we court opportunities of having our passions excited; even though their sensation should be mixed with a considerable degree of pain: for the pleasure occasioned by rousing them overbalances the pain occasioned by their sensation. This the abbe du Bos assigns as the reason of that eagerness, with which we frequent tragedies that cause grief, and terror, and other painful emotions; and I believe it is the best reason that can be given, why we see such numerous crowds assembled at the execution of criminals. Now, if an indolent inactive state is, of all others, the most disagreeable to us—it follows that that situation, which spurs us on to action, must be adapted to our nature, and conducive to our felicity. But what are more powerful incentives to action, than our wants and desires? Our wants and desires, therefore, are necessary to our perfection and happiness.

What first determined men to enter into society? Their wants. What characterises the different periods of improved society? The increased numbers of those wants. In what consists the principal excellence of civilized and refined society above that which is rude and barbarous? In the pleasure that arises from supplying those wants. These observations deserve to be illustrated by a few reflections on the general history of mankind. Human society may be distinguished into four general periods, according to the manner in which men lived in each of those periods.

The first was that, in which they lived by hunting and fishing. Of this we have an example in the Indians, who still continue in the most rude and uncultivated state of society. They have few wants, or incitements to industry; and therefore their minds are

an easy prey to the most rough, and boisterous passions.

The second period of society was that, in which men subsisted by their flocks and herds. In this period, care and industry were more requisite, than in the first. It was necessary for the owners of cattle to choose proper pasture for them; to remove them from one part of the country to another, when the pasture was consumed; and to tend them, that they might not be destroyed or lost. This is represented by the poets to have been the golden age; and the scene of all our pastorals is laid in this period of society. The beautiful descriptions we have of the peace and tranquility, which the swains and shepherdesses enjoyed—of the innocence and sincerity of their loves—and of the purity and moderation of their desires, may, perhaps, prejudice us in favour of their way of life; but if we consult history and experience, we shall find, that it by no means deserves the high encomiums that have been bestowed upon it.

The third period of society was that wherein agriculture flourished. The spontaneous productions of the earth were now found to be insufficient to supply the wants of her inhabitants. The soil was cultivated; the labour of seed-time and harvest commenced; the property of lands was ascertained; the desire of enlarging property, and, by that means, of enlarging influence, became strong; and arts and industry became necessary.

The fourth period of society is that of commerce. After agriculture had supplied each nation with every thing, which the country they inhabited was capable of producing, a farther improvement was attempted, and the attempt was successful. Unsatisfied with what any particular soil could furnish, men went in search of the productions of foreign climes. By this means, a trading people have it in their power to supply themselves with all the bounties, which nature has scattered over the whole face of the globe.

From this short deduction of the general history of society, it appears, that the difference between the rude and the refined periods of it, consists chiefly in this, that, in the latter, the wants of men become more nume-

rous than in the former. If, therefore, society has been improved—if the later periods of it have been more perfect than the ancient periods were—it must be allowed, that man is perfect in proportion as his wants and desires are multiplied. It is necessary to add, and as he has opportunities of supplying those wants, and gratifying those desires; because without such opportunities, our wants and desires would make us miserable. For this reason, it should be our particular care not to create to ourselves wants, which we cannot, or ought not to supply, nor to indulge desires, which we cannot, or ought not to gratify. But while we observe these limitations, let us embrace every occasion of multiplying our pleasures; and let us employ every part of our time in some laudable or innocent pursuit. C.

*Philadelphia, Feb. 29, 1768.*

*(To be continued.)*



*Address to the citizens of the state of Rhode Island.*

STRANGERS of information and patriotic principles were greatly astonished at the conduct of our general assembly, during their last session, in refusing to join in the federal convention, and in rejecting the recommendation of congress, for repealing all laws repugnant to the treaty of peace with Great-Britain. As a spectator, I attended with impartiality to their debates; and as a citizen of this state, I found myself deeply wounded by their determinations. I have endeavoured to investigate the causes of their unheard-of obstinacy, and shall suggest my opinion to you, my countrymen, without reserve.

The great object of the present administration is to relieve the people from debt. So far they are to be applauded. To effect this object they emitted the paper currency. The measure was innocent, but not political or prudent. The manner of funding the bank, and the enormous sum emitted, rendered it impossible that the paper should bear an equal proportion to specie. It was therefore unjust to declare it an equivalent in payment for specie contracts. But the amazing disparity which has since

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taken place, might not have been foreseen or expected. Invincible ignorance is excusable; but no man is pardonable for placing himself in a situation to judge and decide for others, in matters whereof he is incapable. Experience, however, has taught the administration, that it requires six or eight pounds in paper to purchase any article which is sold for twenty shillings in specie; and that there is no probability of a change for the better: yet they continue the tender laws, and affect to avoid all distinctions in the different kinds of lawful money in the state. Here, then, is a clear proof of dishonest intentions; and the charge cannot be avoided or mitigated: but what is much to be lamented, the more glaring the evil appears, the more inflexible is the obduracy by which it is supported.

It is well known that many of the framers and supporters of the present system, were greatly involved in private debts, when it was first adopted; and it is also known they have availed themselves of its iniquitous and dishonourable advantages. Hence it is obvious, that the abolition of debts, without rendering an equivalent, is the intention of the leading members of assembly; and therefore they reject every measure, however just and necessary, to accomplish their views. Such is their attachment to this favourite, though disgraceful scheme, that they seem determined to run all hazards, and involve the state in every kind of calamity, rather than relinquish their pursuit.

Why have they refused to join in the federal convention? do they not know that the united states cannot exist as a nation, while they, and the legislatures of other states, have it in their power to frustrate every public measure, by their local, their absurd, and unconstitutional policy? and do they not know, that it would be impossible for them to defraud the citizens of other states, if the articles of confederation were carried into full effect? have they not permitted a number of towns to discharge, in paper, arrearages due upon continental taxes, assessed so long ago as the year 1783, when other towns have paid their proportions in silver and gold? and is not this a direct violation of the

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articles of confederation? have they not declared the paper currency a legal tender to discharge all debts, when, by the treaty of peace, debts contracted and due before that period, to British subjects, were to be paid in sterling money? congress have required of them to repeal all laws repugnant to that treaty; and have they not refused? and is not this refusal a most flagrant breach of national faith?—why have they refused? they say, because such a repealing law would affect their emitting act. Then it is plain and evident, that rather than depart, in a single instance, from their present measures, they will trample upon the most sacred obligations, and defy the united states to arms!

I think, my countrymen, think for yourselves!—we are deprived of an amazing tract of western territory, ceded to us by the treaty of peace, Great Britain refusing to surrender the posts belonging to the united states. We are deprived of the prodigious advantages of the fur trade, and are continually exposed to the ravages of the Indians, upon our frontier settlements; we are involved in enormous expences for the support of troops to protect them, and cannot sell or dispose of the lands, in ease of taxation. And why are we thus embarrassed? because we have violated the treaty of peace, and Great Britain will not comply on her part, till we comply on ours. Do you think that the united states will be so lost to every principle of honour, virtue, and public faith, as to suffer their engagements, solemnly entered into with Great Britain, to be disregarded? or can they answer it to themselves, to posterity, or to their God, to suffer the stupendous fabric of freedom and independence, reared by the best blood and treasure of their citizens, to be demolished by the defection of any one or more states in the union?—why have they contended, through seas of blood, against the power of Britain, and the base opposition of many of their own disaffected inhabitants, to obtain the glorious prize of their conflict, if they are again to be involved in all the horrors and calamities of war, by the treacherous conduct of any part of the empire? if this state should continue in opposi-

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tion to the rights of the union, and to violate the articles of treaty, the vengeance of the whole nation will fall upon them. Neither will reprisals be made upon mercantile property, as some may vainly imagine!

There are people in this state, who, during the war, were in the interests of the common enemy, and acted as spies: these people, through the lenity of government, were suffered to remain with us, are now cordially embraced by the leaders of party faction, and are in the exercise of offices of profit and trust. Their hearts are still replete with bitter revenge. They wish to see this country in slavery to Great-Britain, and their influence is too apparent in concerting the means that might lead to such a degrading situation. Be it known unto them, that they cannot escape from the punishments of a second treason; nor will the hand of justice be slow in pursuing their warm supporters!

Unfortunately for the happiness and glory of this country, the articles of confederation were formed at a time when the feelings were directed to a single object, the conflict of the moment. Fear and common danger cemented the affections, and united the efforts of the friends to their country; there was then no scope for the displays of jealousy, or the daring encroachments of separate interests. As the ties, which united the states and the citizens, were politically few, so were the conditions by which they were to be connected. The political mind was restrained in its researches into the new prospects of arts, manufactures, commerce, revenue, finance, national conventions, and the spirit of enterprize, to be unfolded by emerging from a state of dependence, into an equality with the sovereigns of the earth. And as opposition to the great interests of society, arising from turbulent passions and repugnant views, the offspring of peace, business, and reflection, was not then contemplated; the framers of those articles, relying too much upon the virtue of the people, and the mutual affection of the states, formed an excellent civil institution, without providing in any measure for its security and support. Slender, indeed, were the ties by which the union of the states was to be perpe-

tuated, and fatal experience has taught us, that ever since the peace, we have been drawn more and more from the common centre. At this moment we are the laughing stock of all Europe; and, what adds the most painful chagrin to the reflection, is, that we are comparatively, the laughing stock of fools!

At the close of the war, our character was universally revered—for years of peace and leisure had plunged us into the deepest abyss of infamy. Philosophers have triumphed upon the happy prospect of seeing mankind rescued from civil thralldom and enjoying the blessings of polished society, under the influence of republican virtue. How great has been their disappointment, to behold us, in so short a space of time, the most degraded of any civilized nation in ancient or modern story!

We are indebted to foreign nations; we promise the principal, but do not pay even the interest. We enter into treaties of commerce, but cannot enforce compliance with a single article. We have ships, and materials for ship building in abundance, but other subjects than our own, transport even our articles of exportation. Our debts are continually accumulating, while, for the want of effective powers in the federal head to regulate trade and commerce, the sources of revenue are as rapidly diminishing. Can we remain long in so dishonourable as well as destructive a situation? Will not foreign creditors demand payment? And, upon refusal, will they not make reprisals? Will the real friends to their country remain idle spectators, or rather will they not unite, by all the means in their power, to avert the evil?

Is it not wise, is it not prudent, is it not necessary, to provide in time, against the worst of consequences, by consenting to and joining in a candid revision of the federal constitution; and in framing and adopting such a general system, as may be adequate, under the smiles of heaven, to every national purpose? This is in our power; peace, happiness, and safety, are in our power; the fairest inheritance ever secured by the wisdom of ages, is in our power, and may be transmitted unfulfilled to posterity! but if we con-

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to harbour and cherish discord and jealousy among ourselves—if we divide, by sordid, local views, the united interests of the states, our resentments will be inflamed against each other, till from cabals, mobs, riots, and tumults, we shall fly to arms; and, after experiencing all the miseries of civil contention, embittered by keen resentments, a government will be dictated at the head of an army, covered with wounds, and familiar to slaughter!

To this dreadful alternative, we need not be subjected, if we duly attend to the following circumstances. His excellency our governor is highly federal, and in this respect averse to the wild conduct of the majority in administration. Many of the upper house are decidedly against them in this point of view. We have a sensible, federal and spirited minority; while some of the majority are hesitating between the stings of conscience and the false lures of injustice—your own good sense may soon be rescued from the grossest imposition, and the wisdom of the federal councils will devise the means of your political salvation.

*A friend to this state.*

Newport, June, 1787.

Address to the Rhode-Island friends of paper money, tender acts, and antifederalism.

THE singular system of policy adopted by your state, no longer excites either the surprize or indignation of mankind. There are certain extremes of iniquity, which are beheld with patience, from a fixed conviction that the transgressor is inveterate, and that his example, from its great injustice, hath no longer a seducing influence. Milton's lapse of the angels, and their expulsion from heaven, produces deeper regret in a benevolent mind, than all the evil tricks they have played, or torments they have suffered, since the bottomless pit became their proper home. Something similar to this is excited in beholding the progress of human depravity. Our minds cannot bear to be always pained; the Creator hath therefore wisely provided that our tender sentiments should subside, in those desperate cases where there is no

longer a probability, that any effort, to which we may be excited, will have a power to reclaim. But though our benevolence is no longer distressed with the injustice of your measures, as philosophers above the feelings of passion, we can speculate on them to our advantage. The sentiment, thrown out by some of our adventurous divines, that the permission of sin is the highest display of supreme wisdom, and the greatest blessing to the universe, is most successfully illustrated by the effects of your general policy.

In point of magnitude, your little state bears much the same proportion to the united American empire, as the little world doth to the immense intelligent universe; and if the apostacy of man hath conveyed such solemn warning and instruction to the whole, as your councils have to every part of the union, no one will doubt the usefulness of Adam's fall. At the commencement of peace, America was placed in a singular situation. Fear of common danger could no longer bind us together—patriotism had done its best, and was wearied with exertions rewarded only by ingratitude—our federal system was inadequate for national government and justice; and, from inexperience, the great body of the people were ignorant what consequences would flow from the want of them. Experiments in public credit, though ruinous to thousands, and a disregard to the promises of government, had been pardoned in the moment of extreme necessity, and many honest men did not realize that a repetition of them, in an hour less critical, would shake the existence of society. Men, full of evil, and of desperate fortune, were ready to propose every method of public fraud that can be effected by a violation of public faith and depreciating promises. This poison of the community was their only preservative from deserved poverty, and from prisons appointed to be the reward of indolence and knavery. An easement of the poor and necessitous was pleaded as a reason for measures which have reduced them to more extreme necessity. Most of the states have had their prejudices against an efficient and just government, and have made their ex-

periments in a false policy; but it was done with a timorous mind; and, seeing the evil, they have recoiled. A sense of subordination and moral right was their check. Most of the people were convinced—and but few remained who wished to establish iniquity by law. To silence such opposition as might be made to the new constitution, it was fit that public injustice should be exhibited in its greatest degree and most extreme effects. For this end, heaven permitted your apostacy from all the principles of good and just government. By your system, we see unrighteousness in the essence, in its effects, and in its native miseries. The rogues of every other state blush at the exhibition, and say you have betrayed them by carrying the matter too far. The very naming of your measures is a complete refutation of anti-federalism, paper money, and tender acts, for no man chooses such company in argument.

The distresses to which many of your best citizens are reduced—the groans of ruined creditors, of widows and orphans—demonstrate that unhappiness follows vice, by the unalterable laws of nature and society. I did not mention the slings of conscience; but authors of public distress ought to remember that there is a world where conscience will not sleep.

Is it not at length time to consider? the great end for which your infatuation was permitted, is now become complete. The whole union has seen and fears, and while history gives true information, no other people will ever repeat the studied process of fraud. You may again shew the distorted features of injustice, but never in more lively colours, or by more able hands, than has been done already. As virtue and good government have derived all possible advantage from your experiment, and every other state thanks you for putting her rogues and fools out of countenance, begin to have mercy on yourselves. You may not expect to exist in this course any longer than is necessary for the public good; and there is no need, that such a kind of warning, as you set before us, should be eternal. Secure as you may feel in prosecuting what the rest of mankind condemn, the hour of your political revolution

is at hand. The cause is within yourselves, and needs but the permission of your neighbours to take its full effect. Every moral and social law calls for a review, and a volume of penal statutes cannot prevent it. They are in the first instance nullified by injustice, and five years hence no man in your territories will presume their vindication. Passion and obstinacy, which were called in to aid injustice, have had their reign, and can support you no longer. By change of policy, give us evidence that you are returned to manhood and honour. The inventors of such councils can never be forgiven in this world, but the people at large, who acted by their guidance, may break from the connexion and restore themselves to virtue.

There are among you characters eminent through the union for their wisdom and integrity. Penetrated with grief and astonishment, they stand in silence, waiting the return of your reason. They are the only men who can remove the impassible gulph that is between you and the rest of mankind. In your situation there must be some sacrifice. It is required by the necessity of the case, and for the dignity of government. You have guilty victims enough, for whom even benevolence will not plead: let them make the atonement and save your state. The large body of a people are rarely guilty of any crime greater than indiscretion, in following those who have no qualification to lead, but an unblushing assurance in fraud. Acknowledge the indiscretion, and leave those whom you have followed into the quicksands of death, to the infancy prepared for them, and from which they cannot be preserved. Your situation admits no compounding of opposite systems, or halving with justice, but to make the cure, there must be an entire change of measures. The Creator of nature, and its laws, made justice as necessary for nations as for individuals, and this necessity hath been sealed by the fate of all obstinate offenders. If you will not hear your own groans, nor feel the pangs of your own torture, it must continue until removed by a political annihilation. Such as do not pity themselves, cannot be long pained.



Determined that our feelings shall be no longer wounded by any thing to which despair may lead you, with philosophic coolness we wait to continue our speculations on the event.

A LANDHOLDER,

March, 1788.

*An oration on the effects of spiritous liquors upon the human body, and upon society; intended to have been delivered at a late commencement.*

*Ladies and gentlemen,*

THE business of the day is near a close. On me is devolved the pleasing task of expressing the gratitude, and the painful one of expressing the grief of my beloved classmates, upon our separation from this college, and from each other. The minutes before us are precious, for they are the last we shall ever spend together on this side the grave.

Impressed with the importance of these reflections, I have endeavoured to select a subject for my oration, which, though unknown as a topic of academical discussion, will, notwithstanding, I hope, afford some useful considerations, and, if handled properly, cannot fail of commanding the attention of this respectable auditory. The subject I allude to has often been discussed in the pulpit—it has been the theme of patriots in different countries—and even philosophers and physicians have lately added their zeal and knowledge to the authority of the divine and the patriot, in throwing light upon it. The subject I allude to is spiritous liquors. To join in the general testimony of virtue and reason against these instruments of destruction at the present juncture, cannot be improper among the sons of science, nor foreign to the dignity of this day's entertainment. We have learned but little, if we have yet to learn, that nothing is incompatible with the honour of our college, that is calculated to advance the happiness of individuals and the interests of society.

In my remarks upon spiritous liquors, I shall first speak of their origin, and then describe their effects upon health, morals and property, and upon domestic happiness, and civil government.

It appears from history, that distilled spirits were originally used only in medicine. They were therefore prescribed by physicians, and sold only by the apothecary. By degrees they were introduced into use as a drink, but for many centuries they were confined only to savages and barbarous nations.

1. In order to demonstrate the effects of spiritous liquors upon health, permit me to request, my respectable auditors, that you would accompany me to an hospital. Behold! in yonder ward a number of patients, confined by a long train of incurable diseases. See the trembling hand of one who attempts to raise a cup to his head. Behold the limping gait of another. Hear the groans of a third, torn with the anguish of the colic. See the yellow countenance, and the swelled limbs and bowels of a fourth. Hear the snoring of a fifth, in a fit of the apoplexy, and behold the convulsive agonies of a sixth. All these terrible complaints are the effects of spiritous liquors upon the body. But let us proceed from the ward we have contemplated, to the cells of the hospital, the usual receptacle of patients deprived of their reason. Hark! the rattling of those chains! what sounds do I hear? They are too awful to be repeated. But let us look through the hole in the door of his apartment. Ah! what do I see? His eyes discharge fire. His hair rises perpendicularly upon his head. His tangled beard conceals his neck and part of his breast. He gnashes his teeth, and tries in vain to tear his flesh from his bones. But whence this shocking spectacle? What dreadful catastrophe has dethroned his reason, and converted this man, made originally in the image of God, into a beast of prey? I answer, nothing but spiritous liquors.

2. From this gloomy scene permit me to invite you to accompany me to a jail. Behold a groupe of men and women seated on the floor, consoling themselves with a game of whist. See the tattered remains of their clothes scarcely sufficient to cover their bodies. How indecent and profane their conversation! But whence the cause of their misery and wickedness? The answer is a plain one. Spiritous liquors led them to the perpetration of those

crimes, which render their confinement necessary for the safety and repose of society. But what means that croud which has suddenly assembled before the door of the jail? They have come to witness the execution of a criminal. But what has he done to subject himself to the punishment of death? He has murdered the wife of his bosom and the mother of his children. Ah cruel wretch! what could possess thee to embroil thy hands in innocent blood? Methinks I hear him answer this question. "Behold (says he) in me a melancholy example of the pernicious effects of spiritous liquors. I loved my wife. She was an excellent woman, and often drove to reclaim me from strong drink. Upon coming home drunk from a neighbouring tavern, she met me, and advised me to conceal myself from the eyes of our children by going to bed. I resisted the advice, and seizing a pair of tongs which stood near me, I gave her such a blow on her temple, as instantly deprived her of life. Ah! me—I still see her struggling in the last convulsions of death, and, with one hand lifted up to heaven, methinks I still behold her, praying for my repentance and forgiveness! O! take warning, young people, by my unhappy fate. Shun bad company, and avoid even the taste and smell of spiritous liquors."

3. Permit me to invite you to enter with me into yonder tenement. Behold the father of a family seated at a slender breakfast, with a wife and seven children. The sheriff's officer enters the door, and shews his warrant to take him to jail. But what has he done?—He contracted a love for spiritous liquors, which have led him by degrees into habits of idleness and negligence of his business, and hence the hands of his creditors are upon him. See! with what looks of tenderness he parts from his family. His wife in vain throws herself at the feet of the sheriff's officer. His children burst into tears—"Oh! save my father, don't kill my father," dwells upon each of their infant lips. But in vain they beg, and weep—he is hurried suddenly from their sight, and consigned to the custody of a jailor. But the misery of his family does not end here. The furniture of his house

is seized and sold at public auction. His wife is obliged to seek a charitable retreat in the house of a friend, while his children (though born with different prospects in life) are bound out by the overseers of the poor, and compelled to serve persons, perhaps of inferior rank to that which they once held with their father, till they are eighteen, or one and twenty years of age. It is impossible to contemplate this scene of family distress, without feeling a horror at the name of those destructive liquors, which produced it.

4. Let us next examine the effects of spiritous liquors upon domestic happiness. And here I shall make no apology for intruding into a private family, I shall betray no secrets, for the discord of the family I shall describe, is known to the whole neighbourhood. Behold the master of this family reeling home from a tipping house! hear him accost his wife in the most brutal language! his children hide themselves from his presence. He abuses and kicks his servants. Nor does his rage end here—cups and saucers—decanter and glasses, all strew his floor, broken into a thousand pieces. Unhappy family! But still more unhappy is that domestic community where both the master and mistress drown their reason and inflame their passions, by drinking spirits from the same intoxicating cup. A drunken woman! a drunken wife! a drunken mother! The meek and quiet female spirit—roused and transformed by rum into a fury. It cannot be: I will strive to disbelieve all history that describes such a picture, and even suspect the evidence of my senses, when they inform me of its having ever existed, except among the Indians of North America.

5. I proceed, in the last place, to take notice of the effects of spiritous liquors upon government. The strength of a nation is said to consist in the number of its citizens. Whatever affects its population, must necessarily affect its prosperity. Now spiritous liquors by their action upon the human body are unfriendly to human life. While the sword, famine and pestilence, sweep away thousands, this greater enemy of mankind sweeps away its ten thousands. It knows no retirement,

like the sword, into winter quarters. It is a stranger to occasional visits, like famine and pestilence. It is constant and steady, in its effects, upon the life of man. It acts upon both sexes—upon all ages—and, terrible to relate! it slays by night as well as by day. Yes—could the numerous tenants in our different grave yards tell us the causes of their death, how great a proportion of them would proclaim in our ears, “we fell prematurely by drinking spiritous liquors!” But there is another effect of spiritous liquors upon government, which deserves to be mentioned in this place. They promote a seditious and turbulent spirit. The tippling-house and the whisky distillery are the nurseries of anti-federalism, in every part of the united states. Hence anarchy is the constant companion, and tyranny the certain consequence of the use of these mischievous liquors.

I cannot dismiss this subject without wishing to lift up the curtain which separates the present from the future world. O! could I follow the disembodied soul of a martyr to spiritous liquors into the presence of its Creator, and behold it afterwards. But I wish no longer. Hark! I hear a groan. It comes from a soul driven from its body by the habitual use of spirits, just entering into the regions of despair. Methinks I see the unhappy beings who inhabit those doleful regions flying from his sight. But why this sudden terror and uproar? With one accord they cry—his crimes have no relation to ours. He has rushed into the presence of his maker uncalled for—he has perished by suicide.

Ministers of the gospel, legislators and magistrates of the united states! come forward, and save the souls and bodies of your fellow citizens from destruction. Reason—science—patriotism—humanity—and religion, O! lend your aid to this salutary purpose. Or, to speak more justly, O! thou great Ruler of the universe—send forth thy light and thy truth—and rescue this country, so often and so greatly blessed by thee, from the diseases—the vices—the poverty—the misery—and the slavery, which are the offspring of spiritous liquors.

*Some thoughts on the diseases of the mind: with a scheme for purging the moral faculties of the good people of Pennsylvania—quite new, and very philosophical.—By the hon. Francis Hopkinson, esq.*

THAT there is an intimate connexion between the soul and the body, and that the one is apt to be affected by the disorders and irregularities of the other, is a truth too manifest to be controverted. How this connexion is formed, to what extent it exists, and what are the visible organs of the body, which compose the intermediate links of union with the invisible faculties of the mind, are problems which have been often in vain attempted. I neither pretend to have found out the secret, nor have I, at present, any plausible hypothesis to propose on this delicate subject.

This mutual influence, however, which plainly exists between spirit and matter in all animals, and more especially in man, hath produced many promising devices for remedying the disorders of the mind, which seem to be beyond our reach, by attacking the organs of the body, which are always within our power. A late ingenious author has gone great lengths in this hypothesis, in his “dissertation on the effects of physical causes on the moral faculty.”

For my own part, I believe there is some truth in the doctrine, and that in particular cases, if applied with great judgment, a partial and temporary effect may be obtained. But if the seat of the disease should really be in the mind, it will be in vain to expect a radical cure by medical attacks on the body, which can do no more than, for the present, deprive the mind of the instruments by which she exhibits her disordered faculties. For instance, suppose a person to be of an irascible, capacious disposition, and subject to violent and ungovernable gusts of passion. To reduce his body by phlebotomy, emetics, cathartics, a slender regimen, &c. would probably produce a dejection of spirits and an apparent coolness of temper—but must this man be kept all his life time in a state of debility? for there is no doubt but as soon as health and vigour are allowed to return, the angry dispositions

will return, too, and perhaps with increased inveteracy on account of the restriction. So also, if I should be infected with a troublesome itch for scribbling—which heaven forbid!—and my friends, with view to a cure, should deprive me of pen, ink, and paper—for the present, to be sure, I could not scribble—but would the itch be removed?—far from it—the scribbling matter, being refused a discharge, would accumulate, and become more virulent—and as soon as the necessary instruments or organs of exhibition could be procured, I should scribble worse than ever.

This scheme of whipping the mind over the body's shoulders, will not, I apprehend, answer any permanent purpose, and I know of no well authenticated cases to support the doctrine. Has government ever cured a propensity to theft by the administration of the whipping-post or wheelbarrow? amongst the innumerable experiments that have been made, I never heard of one successful instance. No—it seems more natural, that mental remedies should be prescribed for mental disorders, and corporeal physic for bodily diseases. Let there be physicians and metaphysicians, as two distinct professions. I do not mean by metaphysicians, such as are now professors in universities and colleges, but practising metaphysicians, who shall study the disorders and irregularities of the human mind, and prescribe for their cure.

I have considered this matter very attentively, and am confident that many of the cares and evils of life might be removed or alleviated by a judicious metaphysical treatment. The first difficulty would be to gain the confidence of the patient in a new science; for this confidence would be as necessary to the metaphysical as it is to the physical cure of diseases; and even more so; for the imagination would have a great share in the business, and must indeed serve as apothecary to the metaphysician. Wherein does the virtue of pills, potions, and plasters principally consist?—surely not so much in the ingredients of which they are composed, as in the implicit faith of those to whom they are administered. A proof of which is, that no sooner is the composition general-

ly known, but it sinks into general contempt—no body will take a detected nostrum. If then this confidence, this implicit faith of the patient, is so useful in the operations of material medicine, much more should it be depended upon and cultivated in a metaphysical treatment. Possessed of this, I could, with flattering hopes of success, attack the maladies of the mind, by the use of discreet and obviously rational means.

For instance—should I find my patient disposed to melancholy, and his mind clouded with imaginary doubts, difficulties, and fears, by poring over polemic divinity—I would prescribe a round of amusements, much company, and frequent changes of companions; I would by every artifice provoke him to frequent laughter, and plunge him deep in the vanities of this wicked world—but they should be vanities only; for I would on no account violate the bounds of strict morality.

To a patient of a contrary cast—vain, fickle, loquacious, and full of levity, I would forbid the most innocent recreations—I would order him to take a chapter of the history of the martyrs every morning before breakfast—he should study algebra till dinner time—in the evening, he should hear a long dull sermon, badly delivered, and should himself read one of our acts of assembly before going to bed: and I would continue my regimen and remedies, with a few judicious intermissions, until I saw an entire change of disposition take place, and a radical cure obtained.

But I am preparing a full account of the diseases of the mind, with the proper mode of treatment in each, illustrated by a variety of cases. This work hath cost me much study, and deep researches into human nature, and the subtle springs and movements of the moral faculty. Although my book is almost ready for publication, yet the evils of the present time call so loudly for redress, that I cannot delay giving an extract from my chapter on the epidemic diseases of the mind, in hopes it may be of immediate use.

“*Cacoethes maledictionis*, or an insatiable rage for slander and abuse. This disease is peculiar to free governments. The proximate causes



"are envy, discontent, and an over-  
 "weening ambition; the diagnostic  
 "symptoms are an inveterate hatred of  
 "men of wealth or abilities, and par-  
 "ticularly of those in public offices,  
 "and an unusual predominance of  
 "party spirit: and the crisis of the  
 "distemper is an acrimonious erup-  
 "tion, discharging a deal of prurient  
 "matter in private companies or in  
 "the public papers. The curative in-  
 "dication is manifest; for this, like  
 "many other mental diseases, is best  
 "managed by allowing a free emis-  
 "sion to the peccant humours, and  
 "permitting the moral faculty to  
 "purge itself by natural discharges of  
 "the malevolent ichor."

This quotation suggests an observa-  
 tion or two, which will lead directly  
 to my present purpose. It is recom-  
 mended that the moral faculty should  
 be suffered to purge itself by natural  
 discharges—now there are but two  
 possible ways by which the mind can  
 discharge its contents in the *cacothes*  
*maledictionis*, viz. by actions or words.  
 The most natural and least dangerous  
 vent is that of words; either by speak-  
 ing, scolding, storming, swearing,  
 writing, or publishing: when these  
 means are forbidden or not conveni-  
 ently obtained, the disease breaks in-  
 to actions, viz. beating, bruising,  
 mauling, cuffing, kicking, and even  
 in murdering, killing, and so forth.  
 And therefore a free scope should be  
 given to words, as the most salutary  
 and safe issue of the malignant matter.

The art of printing has been a great  
 blessing to mankind, in as much as it  
 affords a most convenient opportunity  
 for the people to discharge their minds  
 of indigested crudities, and rankling  
 spleen. Before this invention, mur-  
 ders, assassinations, rebellions, and re-  
 volutions were much more frequent  
 than since. The poisoned cup and the  
 bloody dagger are not known in coun-  
 tries where the press and the free use  
 of it are allowed. As this is a new and  
 a very deep remark, I hope it will be  
 attended to—I know that the less san-  
 guinary character of modern ages has  
 been attributed to the progress of ci-  
 vilization—but how has this civili-  
 zation been advanced?—certainly, by  
 the vent which the press affords for  
 the morbid minds of the people to get  
 rid of their impurities, and the oppor-

tunity of keeping up a free circulation  
 of ideas, so necessary to the mental  
 health of man. As a proof, we see  
 that in countries where free access to  
 the press is not permitted, the stillicio  
 is even at this day in use.

I now come to make the proposal  
 which I had first in view, when I sat  
 down to write this paper—a proposal  
 which I flatter myself will correct all  
 the bad effects of party spirit or of  
 personal animosity in this our city;  
 and will sweeten and purify the poli-  
 tical atmosphere of our common-  
 wealth. The preface to this my pro-  
 ject is, I confess, rather long; but it  
 was necessary, to shew the metaphysi-  
 cal grounds upon which it is founded.

Let there be two public papers in-  
 stituted—the one a weekly and the o-  
 ther a daily paper—let the printers be  
 commissioned by government, and al-  
 lowed competent salaries for their time  
 and trouble. They should be com-  
 missioned, because all other printers  
 should be prohibited from interfering  
 in their department. One of these  
 papers may be entitled the \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*, and the other the \*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*.  
 Let their offices be always open, as  
 places where the good people of Penn-  
 sylvania, may ease their minds with-  
 out restraint, rebuke, or any hindrance  
 whatever. And whereas some men  
 are naturally bashful, and do not like  
 to be seen in doing their occasions,  
 there shall not only be fictitious signa-  
 tures provided for their concealment,  
 but the printer shall, for the purpose  
 of decency, have a tin plate fixed in  
 his window, fronting on a little alley,  
 if his situation will permit, otherwise,  
 on the street; in which tin plate there  
 shall be a slit or opening, large enough  
 to receive secretly any excrementiti-  
 ous matter—and it shall, for distinc-  
 tion's sake, be thus inscribed—"who  
 wants me?" Lastly, the printers,  
 their papers, and their authors, should  
 be outlawed. That is, they should  
 be considered as beyond the reach of  
 any censure or penalty of common or  
 statute law, or restrictions by any or-  
 dinance, proclamation, or regulation  
 whatever.

By this institution, all our other pub-  
 lic papers would be kept free from im-  
 purities, and occupied, as they ought  
 to be, with interesting or amusing ar-  
 ticles of intelligence, grave or humour-  
 ous.

ous essays, advertisements, &c. and all the filth of the city would be carried off by the commissioned papers. So that, after a little time, it would become as shocking to good manners for a man to vent his spleen in one of the public news papers, properly so called, as it would be to commit an indecent evacuation in a private parlour or a public assembly. And thus, also, would the minds of the people be kept sweet and healthy; for we may refine as we will, but the mind certainly has her indecencies as well as the body, and, when overloaded with indigested matter, must have vent somewhere; for nature will be obeyed; and surely good policy requires that a suitable place should be provided for the purpose, rather than that the public sense should be offended by the evacuations of every distempered mind; which, though necessary, are neither decked with roses nor perfumed with amber.

Yet I would not exclude from the common papers of the city, attempts at wit or satire, or little effusions in verse in the poets' corner. A farcasm is nothing more than spitting—and so it is usual to say—"I have now spit my spite;"—a crude attempt at humour is parallel to blowing one's nose, for such humours are apt to collect in cold constitutions; and a young poetaster may be put into a considerable perspiration by the scorching flames of beauty—these may all happen in the best company without offence, provided they are conducted with decency; and they are certainly necessary to health.

I shall conclude with two instances in proof of my general system.

I knew a young man, about thirty-two years of age, of a slender habit of mind, who, from losses in trade and crosses in love, began to grow melancholy, retired, and discontented. He came to me for advice. I asked him if he had ever tried to write verses. He answered, that he had upon two or three occasions, and found he could tack rhymes together pretty well, but had no thoughts of cultivating the talent. But I advised him by all means to do it. He followed my prescription, and for a year or two employed himself in writing sonnets to Delia, odes to liberty, and elegies on squir-

rels, birds, and dead lap-dogs—with a variety of other subjects, according to the course of the humours that infected his mind. He is now of a calm contemplative habit, but far from melancholy; on the contrary, he is delighted with his own performances, and enjoys the comfort of self applause, which, after all, is the most substantial comfort of life.

My second instance, is that of a German doctor, who has had, or thinks he has had, a vision, in which the mysteries and economy of the spiritual world were manifested to him. He has told me the story of this vision, and a very long story it is. I heard it all with patient attention. Some time after, he wanted to tell me the same story over again, but I begged to be excused. Upon which he candidly assured me, that he found it absolutely necessary to relate the history of his vision at least once a week, or otherwise he grew restless and uneasy in his mind. He came indeed full up to my present system, and said, in direct terms, that it was a necessary evacuation of his mind.

The practice of the law affords, I confess, a convenient outlet for much mental virulence. Not only what are called spite actions, but many of those of a more sober aspect, are only extravasations of mental bile. But this process is too expensive and too tedious for general use. My proposal is, I think, much better in every respect. It is a scheme by which envy and revenge may be gratified without danger, and without cost; and abuse, slander, and invective spend themselves, like rockets, in harmless explosions. For no man will ever think of giving credit to any thing contained in the \*\*\*\*\* or the \*\*\*\*\*

PROJECTOR.

Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1788.



Laconism.

Letter from the hon. Charles Thomson, Esq. secretary of congress, to general Clinton.

Sir, Philad. Sept. 28, 1778.

YOUR letter of the nineteenth was laid before congress, and I am directed to inform you that the congress of the united states of Ame-

rica make no answer to insolent letters.

I am, with due respect, sir,  
your obedient humble servant,  
Charles Thomson, sec'y.

His excellency  
Gen. sir Henry Clinton, K. B.  
Sc. Sc. Sc. New York.



*Address to the independent electors of  
the federal government.*

**I**F ever the attention of a people was required to consider of those things which concern their political welfare, the present situation of these states loudly demands it. Within the short period of twelve months, a constitution of government, has been framed, and offered to the consideration of every freeman, for his assent or dissent. The voice of eleven states, by their representatives in convention, has decided in its favour; and a majority of the most important states in the American union, are ready to risk their political happiness on the operation of this new system.

The debilitated state of our government, occasioned by the want of some efficient head, has deprived us of every advantage which we expected to reap from our independence. The ill policy of our commercial arrangements, has served to impoverish us in our finances, by the enormous remittances of our currency; occasioned an almost general bankruptcy; and has had the pernicious tendency, to discourage our enterprize in manufactures, and ruined many of those branches, which, during the war, had arisen to a flourishing state.

In this humiliating situation, have we been toiling for many years. The British nation, in particular, has been industriously pursuing every measure, to injure us in our mercantile concerns; but, notwithstanding their innumerable indignities, we have fondly courted their connexion. Our stores and shops have been for many years filled with the taudry badges of our infamous servility; and with grief do I make the remark, that the paltry fashions of that country, so eagerly followed by all ranks, are disgraceful specimens of our pusillanimity; and will, unless speedily checked, for ever fully our honour and dignity, as a free

people. Slaves may decorate themselves in the fantastic gewgaws of their masters—but how unworthy the character of a nation, which pretends to stile itself “sovereign and independent,” to be servilely copying the fopperies of those, who are insulting it with every national indignity! The conduct of the British, ever since the peace, has been as derogatory to us as an independent nation, as their declaratory act, wherein they arrogated to themselves, “the right of binding the Americans in all cases whatever.” This stretch of arbitrary power, we resented as became freemen; but what mighty boon have we acquired, if, in our connexion with them, we still submit to the commercial bonds and shackles which they are pleased, (in all cases which suit their interest) to lay upon us? Our trade with that nation, has been the principal source of all our misfortunes: it has thrown a number of our best estates into the hands of British merchants; has occasioned a most rapid decrease of our medium; has ruined our manufactures, and will, if pursued, sap the foundation of the best government that ever can be established in America.

The first object, therefore, of the federal government, must be to restrain our connexion with Great Britain, unless on terms of reciprocity. While they continue their duties and prohibitions, we must lay similar restrictions; and embarrassments on their trade, and prevent, by excessive duties, the redundancy of their manufactures. Unless this great business is effected, we may please ourselves with the prospect of a flourishing commerce; we may indulge a thousand agreeable ideas on the growing importance of our country; our husbandmen, tradesmen, and merchants may anticipate the halcyon days of peace and plenty; but depend on it, these things will be but imaginary, unless we shake off our destructive connexion with a nation, whose manufactures are, many of them, similar to those of our own country, and of consequence ought not to be imported; whose fashions are leading us to extravagance and dissipation; and above all, whose acts of legislation are tending to the destruction of our fishery, and

every other beneficial branch of commerce.

It is our duty, therefore, in our choice of men for our new government, to elect such as are known friends to the commercial interest of this country: such as are avowed advocates for the interest of the tradesmen and husbandmen; men whose connexions are separate from Britain; those who, during our contest with Britain, stood forth the inflexible friends of their country; and particularly such patriots, as have ever supported the genuine spirit of republicanism. If we fail in placing such men at the helm, in the first stage of our new constitution, so far from remedying our situation, or establishing a beneficial commerce, we shall become more and more involved in difficulties, and our trade more fettered by British impositions. We may expect the British nation will view us with jealousy, and will use every means to influence our councils: bribery, and every species of iniquity, will not be wanting; these instruments of state policy, will undoubtedly have their fatal effect, unless we have those men in our government, who are the tried friends of America, and the inflexible enemies of British measures.

Without doubt we shall have those presented us as candidates for the several departments of our government, who put on very specious appearances, and who now seem warmly attached to our interest. It is the duty of the people, therefore, early to make a distinction between such persons, as are eagerly becoming our friends, from the fond expectation of living on the loaves and fishes of the constitution, and those who are studying the happiness and prosperity of the people, independent of sinister purposes. The former, we have reason to fear, will not regard the public voice, after they are intrusted with that authority by which they may promote their own private interest.

I would beg leave to recommend to this and our sister States, the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Fox, to the electors of Westminster in 1782—with a little variation, as it suits the present times.

"We are too apt to imagine, that if we adopt the (federal constitution)

we have got all we have wished for; but, my countrymen, this is not true; you are deceived when you are told so; it is a most undoubted fact, that when you adopt this constitution, you have got a good mean, and an excellent instrument—but it is still necessary, you should attend to the use of that instrument, and watch vigilantly, that it be placed in proper hands. For it is certain, no equality of representation—no constitution upon paper, or practice of any kind whatever—can preserve the honour and respectability of this country, if the management of our government is not entrusted with able and honest men. It is our most earnest wish, to have a permanent and beneficial constitution; the great means therefore, to secure this, must arise from the watchfulness and attention of the people; that when we have got the just and powerful instrument, in our hands, of an excellent constitution, we may make use of it for the noblest ends; for watching over the executive, as well as the legislative government of our country, so as that our interest abroad, and safety at home, be secured upon the surest of all foundations, the vigilance of the people, displayed through a constitutional medium." Such sentiments from so great a politician and friend to America, ought to have the greatest weight on the mind of every friend to his country.

A REPUBLICAN.

Boston, July, 1788.

*Thoughts on the constitution of Maryland, especially as it relates to a right in the people to instruct their legislature. By James M'Henry, esq.*

ONE is disposed to expect happiness and tranquility in a government founded in actual compact, wherein the people have specified their peculiar rights, and the rights of the sovereignty: yet, happiness and tranquility are not always found in such governments, either from the people or the sovereignty mistaking the compact, or attempting usurpations.

Monarchy is unknown in a republic, but sovereignty is essential to its existence. This kind of sovereignty is the power that enacts laws, which, in Maryland, is lodged in the general assembly.



It is made a question, whether the people of Maryland are vested with a right to instruct their sovereignty. Perhaps the best way to determine this question is, to try it by the compact.

1st. Let us examine the organization of the general assembly or sovereignty. The compact does not allow all the people to participate in the government; many are excluded from a right of suffrage; and a few only can compose the sovereignty, while a part of it may be changed annually, and the whole of it once every five years.

These disabilities, exclusions, and qualifications have for their object an upright legislature, endowed with faculties to judge of the things most proper to promote the public good. These frequent elections are to afford the people an opportunity to change the trustees of the sovereignty, when of opinion, that others would execute it more to their satisfaction. And this organization fixes the deliberative powers with the sovereignty, and the elective with the people.

But that the people may not suffer in their liberties, by the abuse of this deliberative power, they stipulate that they shall not be disturbed in the enjoyment of certain specified rights, and that certain things, enumerated in the compact, shall not become objects of legislation. And as a further security against encroachments of the sovereignty, they stipulate that in such an event, they may reform the government, or establish a new one.

2dly. When persons enter into a compact, they cannot demand more or greater privileges than what they stipulate for. One of the articles of the compact is a right in the people to petition. Now no one ever stipulates for an inferior privilege, and expects to enjoy a superior. This is contrary to reason.

Some have imagined that the relation between principal and deputy, master and servant, constituent and delegate, vests the people with a right to instruct the sovereignty. If this argument is good for any thing, a delegate or senator is subject to be recalled by the people, otherwise the affinity or relation proves nothing. But it is very unlikely, had a right to

instruct been compatible with the compact, or proper for the people to have exercised under it, that it would have been left to be discovered by chance, brought forward by analogy, and supported by abstract reasoning.

Others are of opinion, that, unless the general assembly is bound by instructions, the people are neither free nor independent. Vattel observes, "a person does not cease to be free and independent, when he is obliged to fulfil the engagements into which he very willingly entered."

3dly. A right to instruct the sovereignty, places the deliberative power in the people, and brings every thing back to that chaos which existed before the compact.

4thly. But if a right to instruct the general assembly be admitted, it still remains to be determined, by which of the people it may be lawfully exercised. Are paupers to instruct? Are men whose property falls short of thirty pounds currency, or whom youth excludes from the right of suffrage, to instruct? Are persons having a right of suffrage, but whose property and qualifications do not entitle them to a seat in the legislature, to instruct? If these may instruct, then are men, whom the compact disqualifies from exercising the sovereignty, greater than the sovereignty.

5thly. A government by instruction is a government "never ending, still beginning," in which every thing fluctuates, in which nothing is stable. How much to be dreaded is such a government, how much to be preferred the situation of a people whose compact, instead of a right to instruct, vests them with a right to discontinue!—a right which gives the people efficient control over the deliberative power: for what delegate or senator, desirous to be continued in the sovereignty, will venture to act contrary to the sense of his electors?

Lastly, It is by new and frequent elections that the sense of the people is obtained in the most unexceptionable manner, and the evils arising from ambiguity in the language of instruction, avoided; when, if re-elections do not effect a change in the system or proceedings of the sovereignty, it is the strongest proof the case admits of,

that the bulk of the electors approve of the politics of the sovereignty.

The author of these remarks has been more attentive to arrive at truth, than at popularity. He knows how easy it is to inflame, and how difficult it is to produce conviction, where the bulk of the people are indisposed to serious enquiry, or deep investigation; but as the compact is not long, it may be soon read; and as it is plainly written, it may be easily comprehended; so that, he flatters himself, his judges will not condemn his opinions, before they are satisfied they underrand the constitution.

Baltimore, Feb. 20, 1787.

*Address of Samuel Chase, esq. to his constituents, the voters of Anne-Arundel county, on the right of constituents to instruct their representatives.*

Gentlemen,

AS one of your delegates, I hold myself responsible to you for my conduct, and bound to obey your instructions, in every case, in which you please to give them: or to resign my seat. I observe in the *Maryland Journal* of this day, a draught of instructions, which are asserted to be now circulating among you for subscription. I esteem it my duty to caution you against putting your names to a paper, which, in my opinion, contains an explicit and absolute surrender of one of your greatest and most invaluable rights and privileges, as freemen,—the right of instructing either, or both branches of your legislature, on any subject, that materially concerns your welfare, happiness or safety. These instructions have two objects in view; one to prevent an emission of paper money on loan, to be received in taxes; and the other to establish a principle, that the people of this state have no right to instruct the senate, on any matter, however it may affect the prosperity, peace, or safety of the government.

As to the first object of these instructions, an emission of paper money, I know your sentiments, and have no reason to believe you have changed them; if you have altered your opinion, be pleased to inform me; and I will give up my private

judgment, and endeavour to carry into execution your pleasure.

As to the second object of these instructions, “that you cannot constitutionally (that is, without a breach of it) interfere with the deliberations of the senate, (or, in other words, instruct that body, on any subject, however important and interesting to you until the ends of government shall be perverted, and liberty manifestly endangered,” I earnestly solicit you most seriously to deliberate, and consider the subject, before you give your approbation and sanction to such a doctrine.

The framers of these instructions have assigned no reasons to induce you to adopt their opinions; and on so important a subject, the sentiments of no man ought to have any further respect or influence with you, than what arises from the reasons adduced by him, and your confidence in his integrity, knowledge, experience, and sincerity. The house of delegates are under a very different impression from the proposers of these instructions. In their address to you, they declare, “they esteem themselves responsible to their constituents for their conduct, and that on all subjects, that materially concern their welfare or happiness, they are to be consulted; and their opinions, freely and fairly delivered, ought to govern their deliberations.” They also declare, “that they hold both branches of your legislature bound by the instructions of the people, whenever they please to give them.” I should imagine that the opinion of unknown individuals, if weighed in the scale against that of your house of delegates, would instantly kick the beam.

The instructions, proposed to you for your assent, do not controvert the right of the people to instruct the members of the house of delegates; they only maintain the position, that the people have no right to instruct the senate. By only denying the right of instructing the senate, it seems to admit the right of controul over the house of delegates.

If the people cannot constitutionally (that is, without a violation of it) interfere with the deliberations of the senate, during the five years for which they are elected, I apprehend it must

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necessarily follow, that they cannot interfere with the deliberations of the house of delegates, during the year for which they are chosen. It seems to me, that every reason urged to exempt the senate, from any dependence on, or controul of, the people, will apply with equal, if not greater, propriety and force to exempt the house of delegates. All lawful authority originates from the people: and their power is like the light of the sun, native, original, inherent, and unlimited by human authority. Power, in the rulers, or governors of the people, is like the reflected light of the moon, and is only borrowed, delegated, and limited by the grant of the people. The right of the people, to participate in the legislature, is the foundation of all free government: and where that right is not enjoyed, the people are not free; this right is the genuine parent of representation; and from this right proceeds a government, like ours; by representation. Both branches of our legislature derive all their power from the people, and equally hold their commission to legislate, or make laws, from the grant of the people; and there is no difference between them but only in the duration of their commission. Their authority proceeds from the same source, and is co-equal, and co-extensive. It appears to me, that the mode of choice by the people, can make no difference in the political relation between the people and the house of delegates, and the people and the senate;—the former is elected immediately by the people themselves in person; and the latter is chosen by deputies, appointed by the people for that purpose. The two branches have only a derivative and delegated power. The people create and vest them with legislative authority, to be exercised agreeably to the constitution; and therefore both branches must be equally the representatives, trustees, and servants of the people, and the people are equally the constituents of both. If the senate are under no controul of the people, in any case, neither are the house of delegates. The legislative power, by our form of government, is granted to two distinct bodies of men, to operate as checks upon each other; and thence the evident necessity that each

body should be entirely and absolutely free and independent of the other; but both bodies must be subject to the instructions of the people, or neither. If there was but one branch of the legislature, as in Pennsylvania, would it be independent of all controul from its constituents? I have before observed that our government is a government by representation. The people appoint representatives in the senate and house of delegates to transact the business of making laws for them, which is impracticable for them to do in person. From the nature of a government by representation, the deputies must be subject to the will of their principals, or this manifest absurdity and plain consequence must follow, that a few men would be greater than the whole community, and might act in opposition to the declared sense of all their constituents.

The doctrine, that the representatives of the people are not bound by their instructions, is entirely new in this country, and broached since the revolution, and was never heard of but within these few weeks. You all remember, that, under the old government, you claimed, and frequently exercised, the right of instructing your members in the lower house of assembly. This right, and the exercise of it, was never questioned under the proprietary government. Astonishing to me, that any man should dare to doubt, much more deny, this right under the new government!—you also recollect that you claimed no right to instruct the upper house of assembly; and I conceive for this reason, because they were not elected by you, but were appointed by the proprietary; and were, in truth, his representatives. By our constitution, you do appoint the senate, and they are, and have uniformly claimed themselves to be, your representatives. If they are your representatives, they are bound by your instructions, or you destroy the very idea of election, and of delegated power. To represent, is to speak and act agreeably to the opinions and sentiments of the persons represented, in the same manner as they would do, if personally present; of consequence, therefore, to speak and act contrary to the declared will of the persons represented, is not

to represent, but to misrepresent them.

"The right of electors in England, to instruct their members in the house of commons, was never controverted," says a late writer, "until the system of corruption (which has since arrived at so dangerous a height) began to predominate in that kingdom; then it was, that arbitrary ministers, and their prostituted dependents, began to maintain this doctrine, dangerous to our liberty, that the representatives were independent of the people." Before that time, the constant language in the house of commons was, "whose business are we doing? How shall we answer this to the people? what will the people of England say to this?" &c. &c. &c.

Our law books, and treatises by Sydney, and many other celebrated writers on the English government, inform us, that not only particular members, but the whole body of the house of commons often refused to grant money, or to agree to requisitions from the crown, before they consulted with their constituents; and that "they often adjourned for this purpose." The English history affords innumerable instances of instructions by the electors, in that nation, to their members in the house of commons; and this practice, for above 150 years, proves the sense of the people of that country, of their right to instruct, and that their representatives were bound to obey them.

We also find that the members of the house of commons frequently declared, in debate, "that their duty to their electors obliged them to vote as directed." Many of the greatest patriots the English nation ever produced, have declared their opinion, that "it is the duty of the representatives of the people, implicitly to obey the instructions of their constituents." A late judicious writer thus delivers himself, "our representatives in parliament are not the bare likeness or reflection of us, their constituents; they actually contain our power, and are, as it were, the very persons of the people they represent. We are the parliament in them; we speak and act by them; we have therefore a right to know what they say and do; and should they contradict our sense,

or swerve from our interests, we have a right to remonstrate and direct them; by which means we become the regulators of our own conduct, and the institutors of our own laws, and nothing material can be done, but by our authority and consent."

This doctrine, that the constituents have no right to instruct their representatives, in the language of the two patriots, sir John Barnard, and sir William Windham, in the house of commons, "is not only a new and wicked doctrine, but it is the most monstrous, and most slavish doctrine, that was ever heard, and such a doctrine as no man will dare to support within these walls." A celebrated American writer observes, when the right of the people to instruct their representatives is taken from them, they may justly complain, as Demosthenes did for the Athenians—"that the representative has now usurped the right of the people, and exercises an arbitrary power over his ancient and natural lord." This writer remarks, "that no instance can be produced, in which the people have abused this right, nor is there any reason to believe they will ever do it; they act from what they feel; and when that feeling is general, it must be real." The virtuous and great mr. Addison observes, "that the nobility and gentry have many private expectations, and particular interests, that hang like a false bias upon their judgments; and may possibly dispose them to sacrifice the good of their country to the advancement of their own fortunes; whereas the gross of the people can have no other prospect in changes, and revolutions, than of public blessings, that are to diffuse themselves through the whole state in general."

I can find but one author who has ventured to assert, that a member of the house of commons is not bound by the instructions of his constituents. Judge Blackstone has delivered this opinion, and he founds it on a fiction, that after the person is elected, he becomes the representative of the whole kingdom, and not of a particular part. The sophistry of this argument is sufficiently manifest; and if true, it would only follow, that all the members would be bound by the instructions of a majority of all their constituents.

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Judge Blackstone is against voting by ballot, in the house of commons, "because the conduct of every member is subject to the future censure of his constituents, and therefore should be openly submitted to their inspection." A late writer observes, on this opinion of Blackstone, "if the members of the house of commons are not obliged to regard the instructions of their constituents, the people of this country choose a set of despots every seven years, and are as perfect slaves as the Turks, excepting at the time of the general election;" and remarks that "he laments that a writer, whose admirable work will be read as long as England, its laws, and language remain, should be so sparingly tinctured with the true and generous principles of liberty."

By our constitution, the general assembly are authorized to appoint delegates to represent this state in congress; and you well know, that in very many instances, (some of them of the greatest consequence) the general assembly have claimed and exercised the right of instructing them, as to their conduct in their representative capacity. This power is not granted to the legislature by the constitution, and can only be supported on the principle, that the trust is delegated to them by the legislature, and therefore they must have a right to direct their conduct.

It is not unworthy of notice, that the proposed instructions most graciously allow the people to interfere with the deliberations of the senate, "when the ends of government shall be perverted, and liberty manifestly endangered." Where is this exception to the power of the senate to be found? who is to judge when the senate shall pervert the end of their institution, and endanger the public liberty? the people, I presume. Such a limitation as this on the power of the senate is useless; for if they may act without any controul, until our liberties are in manifest danger, it may be too late to resist; and we then could only execrate our own folly and blindness in submitting to such a restriction of the power of the senate. The right in the people to resist their rulers when they attempt to enslave them, is paramount, and not derived

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from the form of government, and it supposes a subversion of the government before it can be rightfully exercised; but the right of the people to instruct the legislature is necessarily implied in the establishment, and is the very essence of our government; and is to be exercised in the support and execution of it, according to the nature and principles of it. "Whenever government assumes to itself a power of opposing the sense of a majority of the people, it declares itself a proper and formal tyranny, in the fullest, strongest, and most correct sense of the word."

If it should be said, that it is nowhere declared in the form of government, that the people have a right to instruct their legislature, I would observe,—that it is not prohibited; and that all power not granted by the people, remains with them. I conceive this right of instructing commenced with the establishment of our government by representation, because it is necessary to that freedom, which is the essence of it; and is founded in the laws of justice, which are eternal and immutable, that those who are to feel the effects of any measure, should direct in the conduct of it, otherways they will be wretched tools and slaves.

It is one question, whether the citizens of this state (entitled to vote for delegates and electors of the senate) have any right, agreeably to the constitution, to instruct the senate, in any case, that materially concerns the prosperity, peace and safety of the state; and that the senate are bound to act according to the instructions freely and fairly given by a majority of such citizens; and it is another and a very different question, whether the people shall exercise this right in any particular case, or on any particular occasion. The existence of the right is of the greatest and last importance to the people; the exercise of it may frequently be of very little consequence, or wholly improper and unnecessary.

I cannot believe that a majority of the senate, in their legislative capacity, will ever maintain, that they are not bound by the instructions of a majority of the people of this country, freely and fairly given. They are pleased to say, "that our govern-

ment may, with a peculiar propriety, be called the government of the people ;" but if they are above any controul of the people, in any case, I think with much greater propriety, our government may be styled a government by the senate ; and in such case our liberties must finally yield to despotism.—An unlimited negative will soon include an absolute affirmative.

Impelled by a sense of duty, I have thus thought proper to put you on your guard, lest you should be taken by surprise, and subscribe a doctrine, which, in my judgment, if submitted to, will in time subvert your free government, and erect a tyranny on its ruin.—I am, gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL CHASE.

Baltimore-Town, February 9, 1787.



*Address to the friends of religion, morality, and useful knowledge.*  
(Continued from page 232.)

NUMBER II.

**I**N considering the means by which we can most advantageously disseminate information among our German fellow-citizens, we find the subject naturally divides itself into two parts, first, necessary and useful knowledge, in which all will admit us to include reading, writing and common arithmetic ; and secondly, elegant literature and science. The good work in the latter department has been most happily commenced by the establishment of Franklin College, in a very healthy, central and proper situation. The flourishing town of Lancaster, with the adjacent counties of Lancaster, York, Dauphin, and Berks, and parts of Cumberland, Chester, and Northumberland, wherein a very large proportion of the Germans reside, and are rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers, was chosen with great judgment to found this seat of learning. In forming its constitution, and distributing the duties and patronage of this seminary, the most liberal and judicious principles have evidently governed its founders. The Calvinist or Reformed, the Lutheran, the Moravian, and the Roman Catholic German churches, have each a share

of its honours and its powers. While the empire of Germany exhibits seventeen protestant and seventeen Roman Catholic universities, we have founded our first seat of German literature on the broad basis of christianity, leaving it in the discretion of the several religious societies to establish inferior schools, under the care of their respective churches. A little circumstance in the dedication of this seminary, which may long since have escaped the memory of those who were present, and which was known to very few who were absent, has often given me the most sincere pleasure. That solemn and interesting ceremony was performed by the lawful body of representatives of six protestant and catholic churches, German and English. A luxurious feast to the friends of liberty, and a sure prognostic, that this infant institution will become a seat of the most liberal science and philosophy.

It has been observed by some, that the establishment of a college cannot be useful in the present state of information among the Germans. On mature reflexion, however, I am disposed to believe the measure will be found to be a very good one. It has attracted our attention to the too general want of useful knowledge among those meritorious people—it has set up a respectable standard, as it were, on an high hill, visible to every eye afar off, to which the friends of the Germans and of German literature may repair. A place is thus pointed out in which they may embody, and may be formed and organized. It is making a respectable beginning of an important and necessary work. Had a plan of erecting a number of smaller schools, in a variety of places, been attempted, more local difficulties would have arisen, more jealous and contending feelings would have been excited, and probably nothing material would have been done. Further—as this institution is now incorporated, as it is fixed in the most proper situation in the state, as many private donations have been given to it, and some public grants, as its foundation is a model of liberality, both as to the mixture of the German and English, and of the various sects of the Germans themselves, it ought to

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be supported with assiduity, sincerity, and spirit.

Besides the obvious and ordinary means of promoting the advancement of Franklin college, by care in choosing its trustees, president, professors, and tutors, and by private and public donations, another great measure presents itself—immediate attention and unremitting exertion, to propagate necessary and useful knowledge among our citizens of German birth and extraction. This you will remember is the other part into which the subject divided itself.

The constitution of this commonwealth enjoins upon every legislator, for the time being, the duty of establishing by law in each county "a school or schools" for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices. This is a duty of the most serious and important nature, suggested by sound policy and philanthropy, and commanded by the supreme law of the land. Let not then any judicious, benevolent or faithful citizen withhold his assistance. Let no wise or virtuous legislator delay to carry it into execution. But to our point: let the German people and their friends immediately form a plan for a public school in every city, town, and county, where they abound, and let them apply to government for such aid as the circumstances of the state will enable them to give. Grants of lands in the old or new purchase are the most obvious and the most easy. Wherever schools are already opened by religious societies, or individuals, which have acquired some funds and a degree of establishment, let them apply to the legislature for aid in lands. The towns and boroughs have, or easily can have, their several schools. If there is any doubt arising in the public mind about the utility of learned education among the people at large, there can be no question about the useful and necessary articles of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Let these alone for a time be attended to, and the rest will follow, since there is already a respectable college for those to repair to, on whom providence has bestowed a sufficient share of property or understanding. The inferior schools,

scattered in convenient places, thro' the towns and counties, will be like so many nurseries of trees, where the young plants may grow promiscuously, and from which those who distinguish themselves by superior abilities, may be transplanted to the more favourable situation of the college, and may be thus cultivated to bless their country with the fruits, which a benevolent providence has enabled them to produce. The state of Connecticut has steadily and carefully pursued the plan of disseminating useful knowledge among their youth, and to this, above all other things, may be ascribed their superior information upon all the interesting affairs of life. Virginia has also established a great number of small public schools, one, it is said, in every county, where those who can pay, are taught on low terms, and those who cannot afford the expence, have that first of all blessings, a plain useful education, bestowed upon them by the state. From these county schools, there is an annual selection of one or two distinguished youths, taken from among those that are unable to pay, who are carried forward as the most promising children of the state, into their public university, where they receive a finished education free from any charge. Virginia is a most respectable member of our union, but, in my mind, no fact in all her affairs is half so honourable to her as this. It is an act of the highest wisdom and benevolence, and must in due time produce its own reward. Pennsylvania—"Do thou likewise," and thou also shalt be surely rewarded.

It will be seen at once that these inducements to the introduction of schools, free to the poor, and cheap to all, apply to every part of our citizens, and I hope that all will one day enjoy the blessings of such a measure; but the present situation of many of our German fellow-citizens, in regard to necessary and useful knowledge, occasions these considerations to operate much more forcibly with respect to them, than any other part of the community. It is not our wish to impede the same measures with regard to the whole state, but to call upon those, who are sensible of the value and numbers of the Germans, no longer to delay those things which may render them



as eminently useful to themselves, their families, and their country, as providence has evidently intended them to become.

If we take a view of the grants of government for the purpose of education among the Germans, we shall find they do not bear any just proportion, either to their numbers or their property. As they have generally fourteen or fifteen members in the general assembly, and as our representatives are proportioned to the taxable inhabitants, as one to one thousand, the Germans may be reasonably considered as at least one fifth of the people of Pennsylvania. Yet it will be found, on examination, that the bounties of the state to the university alone, are tentimes as valuable as all the grants the German schools have ever received. Distributive justice then requires, that something more should be done for them. The scarcity of money is well known, and must be allowed for; but grants of land will be attended with no inconvenience, and it will be allowed, we trust, that it is both as politic and benevolent, to propagate useful knowledge among those who stand in need of it, as to extend polite literature and science; which, however, we also wish to be steadily patronized and encouraged.

Besides the aid of government, many other methods should be pursued to promote our design. It is said there are above forty clergymen enrolled in the synod or assembly of the Lutheran church alone---of the Calvinist, Moravian, Roman Catholic, and other German churches, there must be many more. These gentlemen (whose duty it is to promote useful knowledge, because it increases virtue and happiness) should exert themselves to establish schools in their several neighbourhoods. If they could spare a part of each day to instruct the poor only, or if they could make it convenient to open a regular school free for the poor, and cheap for those who have property, it would be a good beginning to this necessary work. Their schools would increase, to the great benefit of their congregations, and possibly to their own profit. They should also correspond regularly with each other, upon the subject, and should consult upon it at the meet-

ings of their vestries, by which the sensible and religious men, of which these bodies are composed, would be induced to join with them, and to exert themselves to open schools in all convenient situations. The general synods, or meetings of the German clergy, whether protestant or Roman Catholic should consult, and exert themselves upon this subject, and they should confer and correspond with one another for it is a common duty incumbent upon all good men, to whatever sect or church they may belong. The Germans are a judicious people, and they must see the necessity of these things. They are also a spirited people, and will feel a desire to place themselves upon as respectable a footing as any body of men in the state. They are likewise an industrious, persevering people, and if they will only undertake this matter, they will certainly carry it through. They have already many excellent characters among themselves, who are able and willing to do a great deal towards this matter, and there are many also, of other societies, that will cheerfully lend their assistance to so salutary and benevolent a purpose.

In pursuing this plan to completion, a considerable time will necessarily be spent, and frequent occasions will happen when the joint endeavours of all the German religious societies will be wanted. Sometimes, also, one part will have to wait, or sacrifice some little advantage to serve another. Let them set out, therefore, with a kind, reasonable disposition to each other; a disposition of friendship and concession. Let them banish little jealousies and injurious passions. Let them forget that they are Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Catholics, &c. and let them remember that they are all Pennsylvanians and Christians.

When a body of people are rising from a state of depression to their natural station and dignity, the general deportment of those who are first successful, is a matter of the utmost importance; the elder part of the Germans will, therefore, excuse me for offering to them a little sincere advice. When they get money and lands, let them remember that nothing will better enable their children to keep their property, than being taught to read

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and write in German and English—as also to cypher. And if they acquire a good deal of property, they should buy for their children useful books to read in evenings, in bad weather, and on holidays. They will find a little money laid out in this way will be like buying good seed wheat, which will in due time produce a crop of virtue, and morality; and knowledge to guard against rogues, to keep their own money, and to earn more. Their children will stand no chance to preserve their property, if they are ignorant. Dishonest people, who have been taught knowledge, will too often be able to get it from them.

It will be also proper to say a few words to the younger part of the Germans. Their situation, in common with all young people, is more dangerous than that of their parents. Age and experience secure the latter, but youth and temptation put the former in danger. The young people must not forget the industry by which their fathers got their money, nor the prudence and frugality by which they kept it, nor the honesty and caution by which their parents acquired the esteem and confidence of their neighbours. As their good parents have raised their situation in life, and got money for them, so they must also endeavour to raise their own situation in life, and get more property for themselves and their children. Young men should have spirit, but it should be laudable and well directed. They ought to be very anxious to distinguish themselves in the eyes of the world, for doing every thing that is right and proper, for doing their work or their business well, for getting knowledge, doing public good, keeping free from debt and disorderly conduct, and for all those things which distinguish a worthy young man, and dispose every body to approve or admire him.

Since, then, the ancient and modern character of the German nation displays the most estimable qualities of the body, the mind, and the heart, and since our German fellow-citizens (and their descendants) who have come to us from that country, have discovered the clearest proofs of the same valuable qualities, but have not yet received that improvement which is necessary to bring all those qualities

into use and action, let such of them as have been favoured with education and property—and let us, who have descended from other nations—all heartily join in every single step, and in such a system of measures, as will most certainly produce the propagation of useful knowledge, the extension of science, and the advancement of religion among that numerous and valuable body of our fellow-citizens.

## PHILANTHROPOS.

*Address to the friends of American manufactures—addressed to Trach Coast, &c.*

IN all important undertakings, especially those in which we have little experience, it is prudent often and carefully to review the ground on which we are proceeding. American manufactures engaged but a small share of the public attention, as a branch of business in this state, until 1787; though economical domestic manufactures were common in all our populous counties many years before. In the autumn of last year, however, many circumstances concurred to awaken the public attention to this important object, both as a necessary economical practice, and as a branch of internal trade. The experience of twelve months, and the opportunities of enquiry and reflection which that period has afforded, have made us better judges of the subject; and a careful review of the occurrences which have taken place, will enable us, perhaps, to form some safe opinions of our future prospects. If our sanguine expectations have arisen from too partial an attachment to our private interests, or from a blind fondness for our country, we cannot be too soon rescued from our delusion: but if, on the contrary, success and experience have realized, in some degree, the advantages expected, let us steadily pursue the beneficial scheme, remembering at the same time, that we ought carefully to guard against unjust and unnecessary sacrifices of the advantages of such of our countrymen as are engaged in other necessary pursuits.

The friends of this business, in 1787, held out to the public an expectation, that several circumstances very favourable to manufactures, would soon

take place. The event has shewn they were not too sanguine; and it may be of use to lay before the people of the united states, some of the principal events and matters, promotive of manufactures, which have occurred within the last twelve months.

The reduction of rents in all the towns of the united states, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia—the fall in the price of wood and coal, which have been lower here than at any time before the revolution—and the great reduction in the price of provisions, especially of corn, vegetables, and butchers' meat—were predicted, and have taken place. By this relief, the manufacturer and mechanic have been enabled to work on lower terms, and can live well now by prices, which a few years ago would not maintain them; for it requires no argument to prove that the rate of rents, provisions, and fuel, must ever materially affect the price of labour and workmanship.

The want of workmen, and the high rate of labour were difficulties which the friends of manufactures frankly admitted. Besides the relief on this point, just mentioned, they promised themselves aid from machines which were said to be in use in foreign countries, and which it was hoped we might obtain; and notwithstanding the impediments\*, which the natural jealousy and self interest of man-

## NOTE.

\* The writer, it is presumed, alludes here to a circumstance, which, for obvious reasons, ought to be generally known. In the year 1787, two carding and spinning machines, which were in the possession of a citizen of Philadelphia, and which were calculated to save the labour of no less than 120 workmen, daily, were purchased by the agency of a British artisan—packed up in cases, as common merchandize—and sent to Liverpool. The real movers in this transaction may have acted in perfect consistency with the dictates of national and commercial rivalry; but it is hoped this circumstance will awaken the same prudent spirit of jealousy and circumspection in all the other states, which, in Pennsylvania, has given rise to the late salutary law, to pre-

kind have thrown in our way, acquisitions of the utmost consequence have been made. A model of a machine for carding cotton, and of another for spinning cotton are now in our possession. Experiments, that promise a handsome profit and great public advantage, have been made with these machines in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts; and other states are now turning their attention to them. In short, the great desiderata—the principles of these invaluable machines—are obtained and secured to us for ever. Their value is perhaps not sufficiently seen by ourselves, but is well known to those foreign rivals with whom we have to contend. We do not mean to censure them, but heartily rejoice in the early success of our endeavours to obtain them. Besides this great acquisition, several others of inferior importance have been procured from abroad.

We promised ourselves also aid from the efforts of native genius, and here again we have not been disappointed. Some instances of consequence are known to us, and others no doubt have occurred, of which we have not heard—those only that are near or very great would come to our knowledge. In aid of the iron branch of manufactures, highly important to Pennsylvania, machinery has been lately invented for making many new articles by water. Mr. Oliver Evans's invention of the elevator and hopperboy is a great acquisition to the farmer and miller, and there can be no doubt, but it will apply to many purposes, besides that for which it is now used. The new invented boiler, for the generation of steam, must be considered as an invaluable acquisition to the friends of manufactures in America. This cheap and simple engine puts into our hands a mighty, yet manageable power, capable of a great variety of useful applications.

Emigration, it was thought, would give us an addition of hands: and this expectation has also been realized. When we consider the situation and prospects of our country; that new

## NOTE.

vent the exportation of machines, and enticing away artificers from this state.

buildings are reducing rents; that the opening of coal mines, is daily lessening the price of fuel; that while the restraints on trade are interfering with the sale of our produce and raw materials, new farms and returning industry are increasing the quantity of each; that here the European manufacturer may enjoy equal and perfect civil liberty; and that our new federal constitution insures for ever the most uninterrupted liberty of conscience, by the rejection of religious tests; I say, when we consider these circumstances, we cannot doubt that the emigration we have witnessed, will continue and increase.

While the preceding facts have extended the means, and lessened the expences of manufacturing in America, changes in regard to raw materials, very favourable to the plan, have taken place. Flax, for example, which was worth 10d. per pound, in 1787, is now at the moderate price of 5d. h. to 7d. in our different markets. This great article of manufacture sells at 9d. our money, per pound, in Ireland. Can any man then doubt the establishment of the linen branch in the united states? Will an Irish manufacturer be able to give 9d. for his raw material, and send his goods to America under charges of twenty per cent. when we can obtain as good a raw material at 6d. h. and save charges equal to one fifth of the value of the linen? As flax has fallen, so has the seed. A single year has taken off near half its value. Oil-mills will now be more fully and profitably employed. The reduction of the price of leather, has given us an export trade in that article, and in shoes and harness; and the valuable branch of coach-making is sensibly assisted thereby. The reduced price of barley, and other circumstances, have restored to us the manufactory of malt, and have firmly established those wholesome and important articles, ale, beer, and porter. Butter have fallen so low, that the manufacture of cheese has risen to real consequence. To this, the restraint imposed upon butter in foreign markets, has contributed exceedingly. Thus the policy of Great-Britain, by giving the market of the West-Indies exclusively to Irish butter, has lost the sale in our market for English cheese.

The price of hemp is more favourable to the manufacture of cordage and sail cloth than heretofore. That of indigo assists the dyer, and every branch that has occasion to employ him. The reduced price of steel has restored the manufacture of some articles that were for a time taken from us, and has given us some new ones. The prices of rolled iron and nail rods have relieved the iron-plate workers, and established the nail makers completely. The prices of tallow, and coarser fats, have banished foreign candles, and restored the manufactory of that article, and soap. In these and many other particulars, have the reduced prices of raw materials aided or established the American manufacture.

Cotton was much spoken of in 1787, and it was considered as a great object to introduce it into extensive cultivation in the southern states. Happily for America, the spirit and good sense of the planters have led them early to take our hint. The gentlemen of the federal convention were strongly impressed with the importance of this article, and we find they communicated their opinions so generally on their return, that we are well assured they have planted all the cotton seeds that could be procured. Some hundreds of acres, it is very certain, have been put in. Here, again, symptoms of alarm in our foreign manufacturing rivals, very flattering to our hopes from cotton and the cotton machines, appeared; for the seed of this valuable plant was actually bought up, and burned by them in one of the states\*. The importance of this arti-

NOTE.

\* From incontrovertible evidence, it appears, that a considerable quantity cotton of seed was purchased in Virginia by British agents, and burned, in order, if possible, to avert the injurious effects, which the extension of the cotton manufacture in America, must produce on the importation of Manchester goods, &c.—This manœuvre has some affinity to, or at least arises from the same kind of policy, which has been but too successful in destroying infant manufactures in Ireland. Several attempts have been made in that kingdom by enterprising and public spirited indivi-



ele to the planter, the merchant and manufacturer, will insure it, we trust, the closest attention of the former. Small difficulties, or a few unfavourable symptoms, ought not to discourage us. We are to remember, that it has been once raised in the open air in Pennsylvania, and that the southern parts of Maryland and Delaware have produced it, without failing, for many successive years. In the strongest lands, from Virginia to Georgia, it must therefore succeed. Particular attention should be paid to its appearance in every stage, its ripening, and its produce in various soils and different situations, especially as they may be near or far removed from the sea.

Besides the reduction of labour, provisions, rents, fuel, and raw materials, and the introduction of cotton machines—other circumstances have concurred to promote the scheme of

## NOTE.

*duals to carry on different manufactures to the same extent as in England. On all such occasions, their British competitors have immediately taken the alarm—sent large quantities of the same articles to Ireland—where, besides the invaluable advantage of excellence which generally attends established manufactures, they have underfold the natives, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. An unequal contest followed, in which industry and individual exertion had to contend with the spirit of monopoly and immense capitals. The consequence is obvious. The former, wanting the cherishing aid of legislative interference, in duties on the imported, and bounties on the home-made articles, have fallen a sacrifice; and the pernicious effects were felt not only in the immediate destruction of hopeful undertakings, but in checking a salutary spirit of enterprize in future.—The venality of the Irish parliament, and their subservience to the British ministry, prevent the imposition of protecting duties, so long, so zealously, and so unanimously called for by the Irish nation. But in America no such danger is to be apprehended, as her legislature will be the free choice of the people, and will be as highly interested as they, in counteracting the schemes of inimical powers.—C.*

manufactures. By the adoption of the federal constitution, the injudicious and unkind measure of laying duties on home manufactures has been done away, and a just and liberal policy has been adopted in its stead, whereby the produce of the agricultural states will be exchanged for the goods of the manufacturing states, free from impost. By this wise and brotherly provision, the American manufacturer may sell his commodities to the American agriculturist throughout the union; and the planters and farmers may sell their indigoes, rice, tobacco, hides, cotton, flax, flour, and other articles of raw materials and provisions, to the American manufacturer; establishing thereby an honourable dependence of the united states upon one another, and not upon foreign nations.

The American manufacturer, during the time of inconsiderate and unbounded adventure to this country, was often perplexed by injudicious importations of foreign goods, which, while they injured him, were attended with loss to the importer. We need only mention malt liquors, cordage, loaf-sugar, steel, shoes, cabinet-work, &c. This short-lived trade is, however, at an end, and we shall hereafter less frequently see our own manufactures subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers.

It was too obvious, in the 1787, that a dangerous passion for European manufactures and luxuries was spread, like an epidemic distemper, through the united states—hostile at once to the American manufacturer and to our happiness. Fortunately for us, we became sensible of our error. Ashamed of our folly, and alarmed at the danger we were in, a serious change was generally resolved on, and has really taken place, as beneficial to home manufactures, as our former habits were injurious. Buckskin breeches and gloves, home-made jeans and cottons, homespun stockings, of thread, cotton, and worsted, American porter, beer, and cheese, and many other articles, have become fashionable in dress, and familiar in diet—and in general, a greater simplicity and frugality has been introduced into our families.

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goods being now secured by the adoption of the federal constitution, those states which formerly laid no duties, will now be induced by the imposition of that charge, to prefer American manufactures, and to encourage factories, within themselves.

Even the misfortunes and follies of our country have operated in favour of home manufactures. Deprived for a season of a great part of that credit, which had unfortunately been given to us heretofore, our importations have decreased, whereby a demand has been produced, in many instances exceedingly favourable to our manufacturers.

The benefits of this scheme have at length become evident to the landed gentlemen throughout the union. They now see clearly that it is their interest to purchase home-made articles at a given price, rather than imported, because the foreign manufacturer calls not for their produce either for provisions or raw materials, but the American manufacturers must necessarily consume both. A weaver in Philadelphia must work up our flax, wool, and cotton, and must consume our beef, flour, rice and tobacco—the dyer requires our indigo—the brewer our hops and barley; and so of other branches.

The improvements making in our country, have a favourable effect on this business. The Virginians, for example, are cutting a canal to communicate from their collieries to the usual anchoring place of sea vessels, by which our supplies of coal will become more abundant and cheap. The improvement of Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Delaware, and joining the Swetara and Tulpohocken by a canal, would pour into the market of Philadelphia immense quantities of provisions and raw materials. The roads opening through several parts of this state, will give us more farms and a greater abundance of iron, flax, and hemp, and of beef and flour. A canal at South-Key, and another in the Delaware state, would have a capital effect. Whatever makes our country plentiful and cheap, will induce the European manufacturers to emigrate, and will enable them and our own citizens to live in comfort, and increase in substance.

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by the general government, and many other excellent qualities of the federal constitution, banishing distrust from the minds of foreigners, and inspiring them with confidence in our country, will induce men of capital to come out, and establish among us new branches of manufacture, especially since they find an universal disposition to encourage them prevailing among us.

There is one manufacture of infinite consequence to Pennsylvania, which might be rendered immediately useful to the landed interest—the article of pot-ash. This state has large quantities of unimproved land, vacant and unprofitable, which might by the introduction of that simple and lucrative business, be disencumbered of their wood, and rendered immediately productive.

The importation of wool from foreign countries, holds out to the manufacturer the means of carrying on his business to a greater extent, and with greater advantage. Nor is there any danger of its interfering with the profits of the farmer; for it is known, that there are but few countries in Europe which produce wool enough for their own consumption and trade—and if foreign wool were imported, it would introduce factories of cloth, which would create a new demand for our wool to mix with the foreign, and for provisions, fuel, &c. for the workmen.

Besides these encouragements to this plan, which were not in contemplation in 1787, and which now facilitate the practice, or increase the profits thereof, there are some consequences favourable to our other interests, which did not then present themselves. The coasting trade, a branch of commerce of great importance, and out of the reach of foreign interference or restriction, will be greatly increased. New-England, for example, sends linens, stuff shoes, rum, cheese, candles, soap, &c. to various parts of the union. From some she takes iron and flour; from others, hemp, tobacco, and naval stores; from others, rice, indigo, and cotton. New York does the same, and Pennsylvania likewise. Coal is carried from Virginia to every part of the united states; and returns are made in the vessels that

transport it. As our population and manufactures increase, this beneficial trade will be extended, and, if secured from foreigners, will form, with the fisheries, our principal nursery for seamen.

Before the revolution, the cheapness of land held out great encouragement to farming emigrants; but it was the unvaried policy of Great Britain, to discourage manufacturers. By the attention we have some time paid to home manufactures, and which, I trust, we shall ever pay to them, the door is opened wide, and the call is made in a loud and friendly voice, upon the whole body of European manufacturers, to come out, and sit down among us. The present circumstances of this country, and the universal disposition of the people of the united states, must strongly persuade and encourage them; and we can have no doubt, that very many of this new and valuable class of emigrants will every year repair to America, and make it their home.

The general discussion of this subject in 1787, and at many times since, has awakened the attention of private people to its great importance. An idea of a very comfortable nature has gone forth among the farmers, that it is in the power of every man, by due attention to domestic manufacturing, to save the amount of all his taxes. Of the truth of this opinion there can be no doubt, when we remember how much may be saved by home-made beer, cotton, linen, and woolen articles, pot-ash, soap, &c.

The demand for raw materials, in case this business succeeds, will enable the planter and farmer to vary their articles of produce exceedingly, which will prevent that reduction of prices which must follow the cultivation of a small number of articles. Were the citizens of the Carolinas and Georgia to employ all their rich uplands in raising indigo, the quantity could never be sold: but if they will make cotton, hemp, &c. besides, they will have a market for the whole. So, if the farmers in the middle states confine themselves to grain and cattle, they will be injured by the very abundance of them; but if they will increase their sheep, and cultivate hops, flax, hemp, &c. they may sell all their produce for better prices.

On a review of this subject, then, we find, that experience has realized, in a great degree, what our wishes had led us to believe—that the expences of manufacturing are decreased—the means increased—the raw materials reduced in price—the passion for foreign goods converted into a well-grounded preference for home manufactures, and that all circumstances concur to prove the plan highly beneficial to the united states. Let us then, one and all, resolve invariably to pursue the evident interests of our country, by uniformly and decidedly preferring every article, which can be made at home, to any rival article that is imported from abroad on the same terms—and where there is sufficient reason to believe that any new manufacture will finally succeed, let such of us, as can afford the expence, go beyond the price of the foreign commodity, as a premium for useful efforts, thereby convincing the world, that patriotism, so essentially necessary to the well being of republics, is not extinct in America.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN,

Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1788.



*An account of the cotton mills in Great Britain, and an estimate of the cotton manufacture of that country.*

ONE hundred and forty-three COTTON MILLS are now built and in progress in Great Britain, of which nearly two thirds have been erected within these five years.

Besides these, there are above twenty thousand five hundred hand-mills, or jennies, for spinning the flute for the twisted yarn, spun by the water-mills.

The expence of water-mills, is £ 715,000

Expence of hand-jennies, houses, buildings and auxiliary machinery, supposed at least £ 85,000

£ 1,000,000

The state of the raw materials, at the progressive and astonishing increase of this manufacture, will be best explained by what follows :

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Year

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1782 -

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*The cotton and wool applied to the manufacture was*

*When manufactured, supposed to be worth*

Year	lb.	£.
1781 -	5,101,922	- 2,000,000
1782 -	11,306,800	- 3,900,000
1783 -	9,546,179	- 3,200,000
1784 -	11,280,238	- 3,950,000
1785 -	17,992,888	- 6,900,000
1786 -	16,151,867	- 6,500,000
1787 -	22,600,000	- 7,500,000

From whence it appears that the cotton and wool applied to the hand and water machines in Great Britain in 1787, being 22,600,000 lb. (worth, in the raw state, about £2,230,000,) was worth, when manufactured, £7,500,000, yielding the immense profit to labourers and owners of the mills and factories, of £5,270,000 sterling.

*Philadelphia, June 25, 1788.*

*Copy of a circular letter from the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, to their brethren in the several sea ports in the union,*

*Boston, August 20, 1788.*

GENTLEMEN,

WE, being appointed by the association of tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, to write to our brethren throughout the several states, do now address you on the very important and interesting subject of our own manufactures.

The late system of commerce, pursued since the peace, of importing such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves, tends to discourage the whole body of tradesmen and manufacturers of these states, who depend, for the support of themselves and families, on their various occupations; and this practice, unless speedily checked, by the prudent exertions of those who are more particularly interested, must eventually prove ruinous to every mechanical branch in America.

Impressed with these sentiments, and finding the evil daily increasing, the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, awakened by a sense of the danger which threatened them, assembled to deliberate on measures to

relieve themselves from the destructive tendency of such importations.

An association was accordingly formed, consisting of a representative from each branch; and in this body, the whole manufacturing interest of this town becomes an object of general attention.

The first measure adopted by this association, was to pass resolves respecting the importation of certain articles from Europe by our own merchants, and numbers of British agents residing among us; but knowing that nothing could be effected to any radical purpose, unless we had the authority of the laws, we petitioned the legislature of this state, praying that duties might be laid on the several articles enumerated in our petition. In consequence of which application, our legislature complied, in a great measure, with our request, by enacting laws for the encouragement of industry and for the promoting of our own manufactures.

However, as we are sensible that our present situation requires an extensive co-operation to complete the purposes we wish, we take this method to bring forward a confederated exertion, and doubt not, from an union of sentiment, the most permanent benefits may arise. We therefore apply to you, gentlemen, to lend us your assistance, and, like a band of brothers, whose interests are connected, we beg you to join in such measures, to advance the general good, as your prudence shall suggest, and your wisdom dictate.

We would, with submission, recommend an association of your tradesmen and manufacturers, formed upon the most extensive basis, and supported upon the most liberal principles: we may then hope the manufactures of this country will flourish, when each man becomes interested, not only in his own branch, but in those of his brethren; encouraged by such extensive patronage, each individual will be animated to pursue his business with alacrity, knowing that he acts in concert with those on whose friendship he can with confidence rely.

An association being established in your state, we shall be very happy to correspond with; and we flatter ourselves from this social intercourse, a

general harmony will prevail throughout the whole manufacturing interest of this country.

As we hope to experience the good effects of the late acts of our general court, we should recommend a petition for a similar purpose to your legislature; and from the known disposition of your state to promote the welfare of America, we doubt not some plan will be devised by your general assembly to prevent the importation of such species of articles as are commonly manufactured in America.

We need not urge the necessity of some measures being immediately taken by the whole confederacy. The embarrassment of our navigation—the large debts contracted in Britain—and the remittances of our currency—all serve to put every real friend to his country upon serious attention; and if any mode can be adopted to remedy these evils, we are convinced no American will be backward in the cause, but will join heart and hand to promote the desirable purposes.

The means we propose, we conceive, are calculated to put each state upon deliberating on a subject highly important to the manufacturing interest; and we cannot but hope that some lasting benefits will accrue from the united voice of the tradesmen and manufacturers of America.

These states are so extensive in their boundaries, so various in their climate, and so connected in their national interest, that if a plan could be adopted, throughout the confederation, for the exchange of the produce and manufactures of each state, we conceive it would serve to cement a general union, and prove a means to promote the interest of the whole.

The northern states might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the Southern.

An association formed throughout the states upon so liberal a plan, would establish many extensive branches of manufactures; and, if prosecuted with spirit, would put this country above the humiliating state of lavishing her stores of wealth to promote the manufactures of Europe.

We wish you to communicate this

letter to such towns of your state as you shall think proper.

We are, gentlemen,

With every sentiment of respect,  
Your most obedient servants,

John Gray,  
Gibbins Sharp,  
Benjamin Austin, jun.  
Sarfson Belcher,  
William Hawes,  
Joshua Witkele.

*Address of Samuel Jones, on the advantages of raising sheep, to the Philadelphia county society, for promoting agriculture and domestic manufactures.*

Gentlemen,

IN the prospect now before us, of losing our staple commodity by means of the Helian fly (unless sowing the yellow bearded wheat should prove an effectual remedy) it is material to devise some substitute that may be productive of cash, at least to answer the unavoidable demands on the farmer, and, if it may be, do something more. For this purpose I propose raising sheep, which, if I mistake not, will abundantly answer the end. We will lay down the necessary statement for comparison, and, that it may be the more easily comprehended, we will do it on a small scale.

A farmer that sows twenty acres of winter grain, will not, after supplying his family with bread, make more than thirty pounds of the remainder of his crop. I will now propose that he sow only ten acres, suppose of rye, which, with Indian corn and buckwheat as usual, will more than support his family. The other ten acres let him lay down with clover, which, with a small help, will pasture him one hundred sheep, and the profit on these will be more than the above thirty pounds, as appears by the following account of expence and profit.

One hund. sheep, at 9s 15d	£ 45 00
To interest on the stock,	2 14 0
To 10 bushels of salt, at 2s	1 00
To 6 loads buckwheat straw*,	0 6 0
To 2 loads good hay,	8 00
To 100 bushels Indian corn,	15 00
May die of the flock 5,	2 5 0

£ 29 5 0

NOTE.

\* Buckwheat straw is found by ex-



*Contra.*

By 300 lbs. wool, at 2/6,	£ 37 10 0
By 80 lambs, at 7/6,	30 0 0
By manure made,	10 0 0
Total,	77 10 0
Total expence	89 5 0
Clear profit,	£ 48 5 0

This calculation being made, we are ready to answer any objection that may be made to any part of it.

Here we see that raising of sheep is more productive than that of grain, besides saving the expence of ploughing, harveling and threshing; while, at the same time, it will be much more favourable to our views of manufacturing, and may prove in time (we hope in a short time) the means of saving those immense sums of money that are now sent abroad for woollens of all kinds, besides populating our country by keeping those among us that are now forced to seek their bread in new settlements. If we may depend on the southern states for cotton, to furnish us with summer wear, it is to the middle and northern states we must look for our winter clothing. After this manner, the loss of our wheat, if it should be lost, which used to go chiefly for spiritous liquors, may prove a blessing to us. By these means

NOTE.

perience to answer a most valuable purpose to feed sheep with during the winter. The method is this. Let the straw, immediately after treshing, be put up in small flacks, with a pole in the middle of each, put a convenient depth in the ground. Let this be done in the pasture field designed for tillage the spring following, on which they may feed, without doing damage, when the ground is not covered with snow. Every day or two let a bucket of brine, made of salt and water, be sprinkled round the bottom of the flack, as high as they can reach, or, it may be better to sprinkle salt among the straw as you make up the flack. Whether it may not be better to put the flacks in a part of the yard designed for the sheep's use, in which they may be put up at night, and turned in to the field during the day, prudence, availing itself of all circumstances, will be the best judge.

shall we become truly independent; and money, by being retained among us, will become plenty, debts, public and private, will be punctually discharged, and our credit will be restored and established on a permanent basis, at home and abroad.

Thus, gentlemen, are we moved to increase our flocks of sheep, by the lure of gain and the good of our country, not to say necessity. In this view your memorialist has lately made a considerable addition to his flock, and means to add thirty or forty more in a few weeks. Whether we may not in some measure put a stop to such droves of sheep being taken to market, as we daily see, I submit with the above, to consideration.



*Advantages of the culture of the sugar maple-tree.*

**I**MMENSE sums of money are sent every year to the West Indies for sugar. From experience, it has been found to be a wholesome and nutritious article of diet. I do not wish to discourage the use of it—but to recommend the manufacture of it among ourselves. A species of the American maple contains genuine sugar, and, if properly prepared, would in every respect equal, in all its qualities, the sugar obtained from the cane of the West Indies. For sugar, like water, is of one original species only. Its varieties depend upon its being more or less distilled with other matters, all of which may be separated by easy processes. The maple not only affords an excellent sugar, but a pleasant melasses, an agreeable beer, a strong food wine, and an excellent vinegar.

The following receipts for making each of them, have been obtained with some difficulty, from persons who have succeeded in the manufactory of them, and are earnestly recommended to those citizens of the united states, who live in the neighbourhood of sugar maple trees.

*To make maple sugar.*

**M**AKE an incision in a number of maple trees, at the same time, in the months of February or March, and receive the juice of them in earthen or wooden vessels. Strain the juice (after it is drawn from its sedi-

ment) and boil it in a wide-mouthed kettle. Place the kettle directly over the fire, in such a manner that the flame shall not play upon its sides. Skim the liquor while it is boiling. When it is reduced to a thick syrup, and cooled, strain it again, and let it settle for two or three days, in which time it will be prepared for granulating. This operation is performed by filling the kettle half full of the syrup, and boiling it a second time. To prevent its rising too suddenly and boiling over, add to it a piece of fresh butter or fat, of the size of a walnut. You may easily determine when it is sufficiently boiled to granulate, by cooling a little of it. It must then be put into bags or baskets, thro' which the water will drain, so as to leave it in a solid form. This sugar, if refined by the usual process, may be made into as good single or double refined loaves, as ever were made of the sugar obtained from the juice of the West India cane.

*To make maple melasses.*

THIS may be made in three ways. 1<sup>st</sup>. From the thick syrup, obtained by boiling, after it is strained for granulation. 2<sup>dly</sup>. From the drainings of the sugar. Or 3<sup>dly</sup>. From the last runnings of the tree (which will not granulate) reduced by evaporation to the consistence of melasses.

*Maple beer.*

TO every 4 gallons of water (while boiling) add a quart of maple melasses. When the liquor is cooled to blood heat, put in as much yeast as is necessary to foment it. Malt or bran may be added to this beer, when agreeable — if a table spoonful of the essence of spruce is added to the above quantities of water and melasses, it makes a most delicious and wholesome drink.

*Maple wine.*

BOIL four, five, or six gallons of sap (according to its strength) to one, and add yeast in proportion to the quantity you make. After it is fermented, set it aside in a cool place, well stopped. If kept for two or three years, it will become a pleasant, sound wine, in every respect equal to the second class of wines imported from foreign countries. This wine may be rendered fragrant by the addition of a little sliced magnolio root, or any other aromatic substance.

*Maple vinegar.*

EXPOSE the sap of the maple to the open air, in the sun, and in a short time it will become vinegar.

By these receipts, large quantities of each of the above articles have been made in the frontier counties of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. A German farmer, in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, (where the maple trees grow as plentifully as oaks or pines in many other places) made three hundred pounds of sugar in one year, which he sold, to his neighbours, and to travellers, for nine pence a pound. From the value of these trees, and the many uses to which their sap has been applied, the new settlers have learned to preserve them with as much care, as if they were apple, or other fruit trees. From the facility with which they may be cultivated, and the profit which can be had from them, it is plain, that a farmer in an old county could raise nothing on his farm with less labour, and nothing from which he could derive more emolument, than the sugar maple tree.

AGRICOLA.

*Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1788.*



*A certain cure for the measles in swine.*

IT frequently happens that swine are killed when disordered by the measles, which is easily discovered by the meat or flesh containing small globular red or white pustules, of different sizes, varying according to the different degrees of the disease; which originate from their being fed with stinky, damaged corn, or some unwholesome food; or from its being boiled in lead and copper vessels, in which it hath lain too long; or from their being kept in a wet or dirty pen; either of which causes tends to obstruct the free circulation of the fluids; hence arise those globular pustules, which are the juices rendered vici'd and coagulated. — About once a week, mix two spoonfuls of madder in their food, which prevents obstructions, acting as a diuretic, and is at the same time an astringent. And on some other day in the week, give a spoonful or two of an equal quantity of flour of sulphur and saltpetre, well pounded and mixed,

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which purifies and cools the blood. All these different articles added to each pail of food in the morning, on separate days, prevent the measles, keep the swine extremely healthy, and fatten them more expeditiously.

—♦♦♦♦—  
*Letters addressed to count de Ca—ni,  
 D—r of the R—10—y, at Paris,  
 by J. Churchman.*

## LETTER I.

*On the northern and southern lights.*

**T**HE rays of the northern lights have been observed from different parts of the globe, to be on the direction of the magnetic meridians.

M. Van Swinden, correspondent member of the royal academy of sciences, at Paris, and member of several other academies, during the space of eight years, observed about two hundred of those lights, and composed accurate and circumstantial descriptions of each; and compared them with the motions of the magnetic needle, and the different states and modifications of the atmosphere. \*

The direction of those lights with the magnetic meridian, is also "particularly observable in those meteors, of late years, whose tracts have been ascertained with most exactness: as that of November 26, 1758, described by sir John Pringle; that of July 17, 1771, treated of by Mr. le Roy; and that of the 18th of August, 1783: the largest proportion of other accounts of meteors, confirms the same observations; even those of a more early period: nay, I think some traces of them are perceivable in the writings of the ancients." †

Even in the book of Job, ‡ something of the nature of the northern lights is described. "He scattereth his bright cloud. And it is turned round about by his counsels, that they may

## NOTES.

\* Monthly review, from January to June, inclusive, 1780, vol. LXXI.

† Reflections on meteors, by C. Blagden, esq. then physician to the army, and secretary to the royal society in London: philosophical transactions, vol. LXXIV, and annual register, for 1784, part III, page 135.

‡ Chap. XXXVII, v. 11, 12, 13, and 21.

do whatever he commandeth them upon the face of the world, in the earth. He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or for his land, or for mercy. And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds." §

Lucan, the Roman epic poet, who died in the year of our Lord 65, in treating of the northern lights, writes thus:

"The threatening gods  
 Fill heav'n and earth and sea with prodigies;  
 Unheard of stars, by night adorn the skies;  
 Heav'n seems to flame; and, through the welkin, fire  
 Obliquely flies; slate-changing comets dire  
 Display to us their blood-portending hair;  
 Deceitful lightnings flash in clearest air,  
 Strange formed meteors the thick air had bred,  
 Like jav'lines long; like lamps more broadly spread,  
 Lightning, without one clap of thunder, brings,  
 From the cold north, his winged fires, and flings  
 Them 'gainst our capitol."

At Rome, in the language of the ancients, between the years of our Lord 65, and 257, fires were often seen in the heavens, and apparitions to hang streaming down the air.

Have we not had frequent accounts in history, of armies, crowns, streams of fire, fiery dragons, serpents, torches, burning swords, spears, lances, and clashing of weapons, being heretofore often seen in the heavens, in all the northern parts of Europe, at certain different periods? || may it not be probable that they have proceeded from the same causes as the northern lights, seen from different parts of Europe and North America in the present age? and as they seem sometimes also to have gradually absented themselves, and to continue out of sight for several ages, they have always on their new

## NOTES.

§ Different opinions appear, concerning the author of this book, and the time in which it was written.

|| See a book, entitled, the surprising miracles of nature.

appearances, been noted by some as prodigies.

The northern lights are said scarcely to be known in any part of these united states from the first settlement thereof by the Europeans, until the present century, since which they have been more and more frequent, and at the present time are very common.

“Is the alleged fact, of the suspension of the appearances of the aurora borealis in our latitudes, and the great frequency of them for these 50 or 60 years past, to be at all held connected with the supposition of some of our best philosophers—that there are accounts which bespeak warmer weather in former times to the north, than is usual now, with a consequent diminution of the ice?”\*

When the northern magnetic † point was last on the same side of the earth as England, the northern lights were very frequent in that kingdom, for many years, until they gradually disappeared in the north-east: since which and while the northern magnetic point was on the opposite side of the earth from England, they were absent there for several ages; some of the last that are upon record, as having appeared there, before those of the present century, are those of January 30th, 1560, October 7th, 1564, November 14th and 15th, 1574.† After a long absence, they again appeared towards the north-west: a small one appeared in Ireland, November 16th, 1707; another appeared in England, August 9th, 1708; a remarkable one appeared there also, March 16th 1715–16: they have been, and still

#### NOTES.

\* Note, in the works of Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. president of the American philosophical society, and member of several learned societies in Europe. London edition, page 513.

† The northern magnetic point in 1779 was in latitude 76d. 4m. north longitude 85d. 12m. west from London, its period of revolution from west to east, 463 years, 344 days, the southern magnetic point in 1777, was in 79d south latitude and 140d east longitude from the same place or thereabouts.

† Rowning's philosophy, Vol. I. page 243.

continue to be, very common ever since, especially when the air to the northward is in a clear state; and the higher the magnetic point comes to the meridian of any place, the more frequent those appearances are.

Phenomena of this kind are reported to have been very frequent in Greenland, Iceland and Norway; and countries near the pole.‡

The northern meteors are no curiosity in those regions, where the light shines every night, and in some measure supplies the long absence of the sun; they seem to leave the inhabitants of the north with some regret; and may be seen longer than is warranted by the rules of astronomy, and even during the longest winter night, communicate a lustre which makes a kind of day, that lasts an hour and an half in four and twenty.§

During the time of the measurement of a degree of latitude near Tornea and at the polar circle, by the French mathematicians, in the years 1736 and 1737, whose observations are universally esteemed as an honour to the nation, it was observed that as soon as the nights began to be dark, fires of various colours and figures lighted up the sky, as if designed to compensate the absence of the sun in this season to a country accustomed to such length of night. Sometimes they began in the form of a great scarf of bright light, with its extremities on the horizon. Most commonly, after these preludes, all the lights united at the zenith, and formed the top of a sort of crown. Their motions were most commonly like those of a pair of colours waved in the air: and the different tints of their light gave them the appearance of so many vast streams of that kind of taffeta which we call changeable.

Sometimes they lined a part of the sky with scarlet. There appeared a great space of the sky tinged with so lively a red, that the whole constellation of orion seemed as if it had been dyed in blood. This light, which at first appeared stationary, soon moved, and changed into other colours, violet

#### NOTES.

‡ Rowning's philosophy.

§ Gentleman's magazine for April, 1747.

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and blue. They say when people look at these phenomena with an unphilosophic eye, it is not surprising if they discover in them fiery chariots, armies engaged, and a thousand other prodigies.†

The northern lights appear in Iceland in all the different quarters, from whence strong columns of light dart forth. The lights are often seen tinged with yellow, green, and purple.\*

The chronicles of Iceland often mention a kind of comets or halesternor to have appeared at different times, contrary, as is conjectured, to any thing of the kind in other latitudes.‡

The royal society of London appointed a naturalist on a late voyage, who says that the appearance of the northern lights, in the high latitudes of our hemisphere, is at present a very common phenomenon; and the inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Russia, have the sight of these meteors in winter almost every clear night.

The same gentleman remarks that though he and others in company with captain Cook, had spent several different seasons, in or near the antarctic circle, yet they never saw the southern lights (*aurora australis*) but in the year 1773, being then in the latitude from 38d. to 66d. south. Their appearances then, on seven different nights, were much the same as those of the northern lights; they were observed shooting up to the zenith in columns or streams, of a pale light, from a dark segment, as a base near the horizon.

Sometimes these lights were so transparent, that stars could be observed through them; and, at other times, the streams seemed to be white, and more dense or opaque, and would not

transmit the light of the stars. They saw these lights on February 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 26th, and March 15th, and 16th.¶

It is remarkable, that the observers of those southern lights, at the times of observation, were not more than about 13 degrees of a great circle from the place of the southern magnetic point.

As to M. Van Swinden's observations relative to the existence of the *aurora australis*, I have only seen his proposal to demonstrate.§

So that, from all the observations I have been able to make or collect, relative either to the northern or southern lights, it appears that these lights are never seen but within certain distances of the magnetic points.

May not the variety of colours, often observed in high latitudes, be plainly demonstrated by the prism? And would it be possible they should proceed from any kind of light, except that produced by reflexion?

If we make a room very dark—and place a basin of water therein, and let a piece of brown paper be cut into holes, so that about an equal proportion of the surface of the water may be covered with the floating paper—then, through a small hole in the window shutter, admit the rays of the sun on the surface of the water—the light of the sun, thus reflected, will produce on the ceiling artificial streamers, in proportion to the number of holes in the paper; the appearance of which will be greatly varied with the least movement of the basin. Or, if the sun shines on a prism, in the same manner, the variety of colours will appear on the ceiling, according to the principles laid down by sir Isaac Newton, in several chapters: 1st. “concerning the cause of colours inherent in the light;” 2dly. “Of the properties of bodies upon which their colours depend;” 3dly. “Of the refraction

## NOTES.

† Observations made by order of the French king at the polar circle, by messrs. de Maupertuis, Camus, Clairaut, le Monnier, members of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, page 86.

\* Eggert Olaffen's and Biarne Paulson's travels through Iceland.

† Letters of Uno Von Troil, D. D. first chaplain to his Swedish majesty, &c. &c.

VOL. IV. No. IV.

## NOTES.

¶ Observations of John Reinold Foster, L. L. D. F. R. S. S. A. and member of several learned academies in Europe, during a voyage round the world.

§ Monthly review from January to June inclusive, 1780, Vol. LXII.

G

tion, reflexion, and inflexion of light.\*

## LETTER II.

*On the attraction towards the magnetic points.*

THE gulf stream, near the coast of North America, is found to set in a direction towards the straight which leads to Baffin's bay, the present place of the northern magnetic point.† This has been by some attributed entirely to the passage of the vast quantity of water driven by the tropical winds in a heap towards the bay of Mexico: but if this should be the sole cause, why should the current of the gulf-stream continue at so great a distance in this direction only, beyond the latitude of the trade winds? For that it does so, is manifest by the tropical fruits and drift wood peculiar to other parts, being carried by this current to the northern regions; which appears by good authority.‡

The Indians of North America pretend to have discovered that the tops of trees generally lean a little towards the north.||

As it is well known that common tides ebb and flow twice in something more than twenty four hours, the cause of which is already ascertained; so it would appear from the following authorities and remarks, that perhaps there may be other tides, whose floods may keep pace with the revolution of the magnetic points.

## NOTES.

\* Dr. Pemberton's view of sir Isaac Newton, lib. 3.

† Doctor Franklin's map.

‡ Letters of Uno Von Troil, D. D. first chaplain to his Swedish majesty, almoner of the Swedish order of knighthood, and member of the academy of sciences at Stockholm during a voyage undertaken in the year 1772, by Joseph Banks, esq. (since sir Joseph Banks, bart. president of the royal society at London,) assisted by dr. Solander, F. R. S. dr. Lind, F. R. S. and dr. Von Troil, published in English.

|| Father Charlevoix's tour through North America, by command of the French king, vol. II. page 172, of the English translation,

Ovid, who died in the year of our Lord 19, expresses himself on this subject in the following manner (which lines, as well as others, are also quoted in a new treatise on astronomy, by John Bonnycastle, of the royal military academy of Woolwich, p. 393.)

"The face of places and the forms decay;

And what was solid earth, converted to sea;

Seas in their turn retreating form the shore,

Make solid land what ocean was before."

Ossian, in his address to the sun, says

"The ocean sinks, and grows again,

But thou for ever art the same,

Rejoicing in the brightness of thy course."

In the Netherlands, there have been several instances of the waters rising in such a manner as to drown many parishes at certain periods; the last of which was in the year 1446, when Amsterdam was a small fishing town. At that time, the northern magnetic point was near the meridian of that place, when the sea gradually swelled, until it broke in at Dort, in Holland, and drowned one hundred thousand persons.§

After some time, the waters in this part of Europe, began gradually to ebb, insomuch that a Swedish historian (Dallin) asserts, that in that country the ocean fell forty-five Swedish, or 37, 13-100 English inches, in a hundred years. But a very ingenious naturalist is of opinion, that what in one place is gained, is lost in another, without accounting for the cause. This gentleman assures us, that even in the south sea he met with one instance, during his expedition to that quarter, where he could fairly observe that the ground had been raised, or, in other words, that the waters had ebbed.††

In Ray's physico-theological discourses, pages 25 and 212, he says

## NOTE

§ Chronological table, Tyler's new universal geographical grammar.

†† Observations during a voyage round the world, by John Reinhold Foster, L. L. D. F. R. S. page 146, 147.

that "the some place iterations stances ma Flanders covered

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\* S earth b gazine. † I

that "the sea gains by inundations in some places, as much as it loses by atterations in others. Many circumstances make it highly probable, that Flanders and Holland were formerly covered by the sea."<sup>\*</sup>

In many places, on the coast of Great Britain, there are said to be evident marks, that the waters are not so high at present as they have been formerly. It is manifest, that, during the reign of Charles II. the waters of the ocean, surrounding that island, had gradually fallen away; for it appears by an account of the institution of the royal society of London, that in February 1663-4 the ways and means of raising a revenue being considered, a member of that learned body, named Howard, mentioned the soliciting a grant from the king, of such lands as were left by the sea.<sup>†</sup>

At the bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, which is also near the present meridian of the north magnetic point, there are said to be large bodies of ground, which at this time shew the stumps and roots of trees to be at least twenty feet below common high water mark; and at the head of this bay, the tides are said to rise and fall sixty feet perpendicular. But as trees are never found to grow under water, it appears evident, that the waters rise much higher in this bay at the present time, than they were accustomed to do in times past: the like effects are observable even in Chesapeake and Delaware bays, but in a lesser degree.

That part of lower Egypt, formerly distinguished by the name of the Delta, was an acquisition from the sea, is not a novel opinion; but was that of Herodotus and other ancient writers. To which may be added sundry other parts of the globe; such as that part of South America, called Guiana, as appears from dr. Bancroft's description thereof. The soil (about Lima and that part of Peru, called Valles, which is a strip of 25 or 30 leagues breadth, and several days journey in length, between the Cordilleras and the sea) is stony and sandy; that it consists of

smooth flints and pebbles; which are so numerous, that, as other soils are entirely rock, sand, or earth, this is wholly of the above stones; and in some parts prove very inconvenient to travellers, whether in a carriage or on horse back. The arable lands have a stratum of about a foot or two of earth, but below that, the whole consists entirely of stones. From this circumstance, the similarity of all the neighbouring coasts, and the bottom of the sea; the whole space may be concluded to have been formerly covered by the ocean, to the distance of 3 or 4 leagues, or even further beyond its present limits. This is particularly observable in a bay, about five leagues north of Callas, called Marques; where, in all appearance, not many years since, the sea covered about half a league of what is now called Terra Firma, and the extent of a league and a half along the coast.<sup>†</sup> The rocks in the most inland parts of this bay are perforated and smoothed like those washed by the waves: a sufficient proof, that the sea formed those

## NOTE.

† Between New England and Florida, on the coast of North America, from the nature of the soil and other circumstances, it seems as if the land had gained considerably; as trunks of trees have been frequently found a great depth under ground. Many imagine that some of the West India islands were formerly joined together, as it appears they have washed away until the rocks surrounding the same, have secured them: perhaps part of the sediment taken from these islands, together with that brought down the Mississippi and other rivers, has been carried by the current of the gulf-stream and settled along the North American shores, ~~seems to be~~ one reason of the land gaining in this quarter. If it should be found, in future ages, that the inundations, so often observed at particular times, should always keep pace with the revolutions of the magnetic points, as the period of the northern one is shorter than the southern, after a number of centuries it will so happen that they will both be for a time on the same side of the globe, when at some places the effects will be much greater.

## NOTES.

\* See alterations on the face of the earth by atterations, *Columbian Magazine*, for February and March 1787.

† *Hibernian magazine* for 1780.



large cavities, and undermined such prodigious masses as lie on the ground, by its continual elision; and it seems natural to think that the like must have happened in the country contiguous to Lima; and that the parts, consisting of pebbles, like those at the bottom of the adjacent sea, were formerly covered by the water."†

Hence it is found, 1st, from the direction of the magnetic needle, 2d, from the setting of the gulf stream, 3d, from the general position or inclination of the tops of trees (if the observation be found just) and lastly, by the waters being highest on the same side of the earth with the magnetic point, that the attraction in that direction must be very great.

It has been supposed, that by the earth's motion on its axis, there is more matter accumulated around the equatorial parts than any where else, and that the sun and moon, by attracting this increase of matter, bring the equator sooner under them, in every return towards it than if there was no such accumulation; which has been supposed by some to be the reason of the precession of the equinoctial points of the heavens.

But if the attraction towards the magnetic points should be equal to the combined attraction of the sun and moon towards the equator, will it not follow, that there may be no accumulation of matter towards the equator? and if so, may not the precession of the equinoxes have another cause?

#### LETTER III.

#### *Conjectures concerning the cause of such attractions.*

**T**HE great sir Isaac Newton has proved 1st. "That each of the heavenly bodies is endued with an attractive power, and that the force of the same body on others, is proportional to the quantity of matter in the body attracted."

2d. "That the attractive power is of the same nature in the sun, and in all the planets, and therefore is the same with gravity."

3d. "That the attractive power in

each of these bodies is proportional to the quantity of matter in the body attracting."

4th. "That each particle, of which the sun and planets are composed, is endued with an attracting power, the strength of which is reciprocally in the duplicate proportion of the distance."

Therefore as each of the heavenly bodies, and each particle of matter of which they are composed, is endued with an attractive power; does it not follow, when attractive particles are found performing revolutions regularly from well to east round the poles of the earth in certain given times, that they must come under some denomination, whether composed of fluid or any other matter?

It has been allowed that wherever smaller bodies are found revolving round greater, the focus round which they revolve, must always be in the plane of the orbit; but in many instances even where the causes are known, there is no general rule without exception; how much more properly then may this maxim be applied in respect to gravitation—the cause of which has hitherto escaped all researches? In magnetism, north poles attract south poles, and repel north poles: might not other bodies, placed in particular directions, attract or repel, according to their relative situations?

The learned Newton says, that "if the little deviation of the moon's orbit from a true permanent ellipsis, arises from the action of the earth upon the moon not being in the exact reciprocal duplicate proportion of the distance, were another moon to revolve about the earth, the proportion between the periodical times of this new moon, and the present, would discover the deviation from the mentioned proportion much more manifestly."

It is hoped that when conjectures are formed for the sake of gaining useful knowledge, they will be received with candour.

As Saturn has five attendants (the highest of which is within 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> of his

#### NOTE.

† Alterations on the face of the earth by alterations: *Columbian Magazine* for February, 1787.

#### NOTE.

\* Dr. Pemberton's view of sir Isaac Newton, lib. 2, chap. 3, page 184, 185.



semidiameters from his surface) Jupiter four, and the new planet discovered by Herschell two, if sir Isaac Newton had supposed our earth to have had two attendants, instead of one, besides the moon, but much nigher to the earth, one perpendicular to each magnetic point, might they not also explain the deviation from the aforementioned proportion?

It may, perhaps, be asked, if the earth has such attendants, why are they not visible?

It is well known that the nearer any body is to the earth, the nearer in proportion must an observer be to the part of the earth perpendicular thereto, that the body may appear to him above the horizon. The moon is distant 59 1-2 semidiameters of the earth, from the surface of the same; therefore visible to all its parts; but if any body should be at the same distance in proportion from the earth's surface, as Saturn's nearest satellite is from his surface, or about twenty times nearer to the earth than the moon, perhaps it might be necessary for an observer to be placed within the polar circle, or where there is a day of several months, and a night of the same length, to raise such a body above his horizon, and render it visible.† In which circumstance, the body might appear as dim as a cloud during the day, and brighter when the sun disappeared. And the reason, perhaps, why those who may have been within the arctic circle, have not observed such a body, may be, because at that time it might have been over the opposite side of the earth or below their horizon.

If these bodies be in actual existence, may they not produce the following effects?

May not the attraction and revolution of them cause the annual change of the variation of the magnetic needle? Hence could not the diurnal variation and dip be reduced to a system?

Would not the reflexion of the sun's rays on bodies in these situations

NOTE.

† The term body may, it is hoped, be applied to all kinds of matter, in any form whatsoever, without impropriety.

cause the variety of colours of the prism in high latitudes, and every other appearance of the northern and southern lights, at certain distances therefrom—especially when the air is in a clear state? For it is observable they are seen in the northern hemisphere after a northerly wind has purified the air. Would not the same reflexion of the sun's rays account for these lights appearing brightell one hour and a half in four and twenty, in countries near the pole? which superior brightness may, perhaps, always appear when the sun happens to shine on one particular side of the body.

Might not these supposed bodies occasion, in part, the gulf stream, improve the theory of the tides, and account for the variation of the same, and the setting of currents?

Might they not also account for the precession of the equinoxes, and, of consequence, the nutation of the earth's axis, and the change of the seasons, as well as reconcile the shape of the earth to the measurement of the different lengths of a degree of latitude?

Might they not likewise, in some degree, confirm the theory of dr. Mead, by which he has learnedly accounted for the influence of the heavenly bodies upon the human frame, by shewing the consent between the animal fluids and the atmosphere, and the consequences of their condensing, or rarifying according to the difference of external pressure, and be a means of solving many other useful problems?

Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.  
(Continued from page 285.)

LETTER IV.

**A**NOTHER question remains. How are the contributed rights to be managed? The resolution has been in great measure anticipated, by what has been said concerning the system proposed. Some few reflexions may perhaps finish it.

If it can be considered separately, constitution is the organization of the contributed rights in society. Government is certainly the exercise of them. It is intended for the benefit

of the governed; of course, can have no just powers but what conduce to that end: and the awfulness of the trust is demonstrated in this—that it is founded on the nature of man, that is, on the will of his Maker, and is therefore sacred.

Let the reader be pleased to consider the writer, as treating of equal liberty with reference to the people and states of united America, and their meditated confederation.

If the organization of a constitution be defective, it may be amended.

A good constitution promotes, but not always produces a good administration.

The government must never be lodged in a single body. From such a one, with an unlucky composition of its parts, rash, partial, illegal, and, when mixed with success, even cruel, insolent, and contemptible edicts, may at times be expected. By these, if other mischiefs do not follow, the national dignity may be impaired.

Several inconveniences might attend a division of the government into two bodies, that probably would be avoided in another arrangement.

The judgment of the most enlightened among mankind, confirmed by multiplied experiments, points out the propriety of government being committed to such a number of great departments, as can be introduced without confusion, distinct in office, and yet connected in operation. It seems to be agreed, that three or four of these departments are a competent number.

Such a repartition appears well calculated, to increase the safety and repose of the governed, which, with the advancement of their happiness in other respects, are the objects of government; as thereby there will be more obstructions interposed, against errors, feuds, and frauds, in the administration; and the interference of the people need be less frequent. Thus, wars, tumults, and uneasinesses, are avoided. The departments so constituted, may therefore be said to be balanced.

But, notwithstanding, it must be granted, that a bad administration may take place. What is then to be done? The answer is instantly found—Let the fasces be lowered before—not the majesty—it is not a term fit for mor-

tals—but, before the supreme sovereignty of the people. It is their duty to watch, and their right to take care, that the constitution be preserved; or in the Roman phrase, on perilous occasions—to provide, that the republic receive no damage.

Political bodies are properly said to be balanced, with respect to this primary origination and ultimate destination, not to any intrinsic or constitutional properties. It is the power from which they proceed, and which they serve, that truly and of right balances them.

But as a good constitution not always produces a good administration, a defective one not always excludes it. Thus, in governments very different from those of united America, general manners and customs, improvement in knowledge, and the education and disposition of princes, not unfrequently soften the features, and qualify the defects. Jewels of value are substituted, in the place of the rare and genuine orient of highest price and brightest lustre: and though the sovereigns cannot, even in their ministers, be brought to account by the governed, yet there are instances of their conduct indicating a veneration for the rights of the people, and an internal conviction of the guilt that attends their violation. Some of them appear to be fathers of their countries. Revered princes! Friends of mankind! May peace be in their lives, and hope on their beds of death.

By this animating, presiding will of the people, is meant a reasonable, not a distracted will. When frenzy seizes the mass, it would be equal madness to think of their happiness, that is, of their freedom. They will infallibly have a Philip or a Cæsar, to bleed them into soberness of mind. At present we are cool; and let us attend to our business.

Our government, under the proposed confederation, will be guarded by a repetition of the strongest cautions against excesses. In the senate, the sovereignties of the several states will be equally represented; in the house of representatives, the people of the whole union will be equally represented; and, in the president, and the federal independent judges, so much concerned in the execution of the laws,

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and in the determination of their constitutionality, the sovereignties of the several states, and the people of the whole union, will be conjointly represented.

Where was there ever, or where is there now upon the face of the earth, a government so diversified and attempered? If a work formed with so much deliberation, so respectful and affectionate an attention to the interests, feelings, and sentiments of all united America, will not satisfy, what would satisfy all united America?

It seems highly probable, that those who would reject this labour of public love, would also have rejected the heaven-raught institution of trial by jury, had they been consulted upon its establishment. Would they not have cried out, that there never was framed so detestable, so paltry, and so tyrannical, a device for extinguishing freedom, and throwing unbounded domination into the hands of the king and barons, under a contemptible pretence of preserving it? What! Can freedom be preserved by imprisoning its guardians? Can freedom be preserved, by keeping twelve men closely confined without meat, drink, fire, or candle, until they unanimously agree, and this to be innumerable repeated? Can freedom be preserved, by thus delivering up a number of freemen to a monarch and an aristocracy, fortified by dependant and obedient judges and officers, to be shut up, until, under duress, they speak as they are ordered? Why can't the twelve jurors separate, after hearing the evidence, return to their respective homes, and there take time, and think of the matter at their ease? Is there not a variety of ways, in which causes have been, and can be tried, without this tremendous, unprecedented inquisition? why then is it insisted on; but because the fabricators of it know that it will, and intend that it shall, reduce the people to slavery? Away with it—freemen will never be enthralled by so insolent, so execrable, so pitiful a contrivance.

Happily for us, our ancestors thought otherwise. They were not so over-nice and curious, as to refuse blessings, because they might possibly be abused.

They perceived, that the uses included were great and manifest. Perhaps

they did not foresee, that from this acorn, as it were, would grow up oaks, that, changing their native soil for another element, would bound over raging mountains of waters, bestow and receive benefits around the globe, and secure the just liberties of the nation for a long succession of ages.\* As to abuses, they trusted to their own spirit for preventing or correcting them; and worthy is it of deep consideration by every friend of freedom, that abuses that seem to be but "trifles,"† may be attended by fatal consequences. What can be "trifling,"‡ that diminishes or detracts from the only defence, that ever was found against "open attacks and secret machinations."§ This institution originates from a knowledge of human nature. With a superior force, wisdom, and benevolence united, it rives the difficulties that have distressed, or destroyed the rest of mankind. It reconciles contradictions—immensity of power, with safety of private station. It is ever new, and always the same.

Trial by jury and the dependance of taxation upon representation—those corner stones of liberty—were not obtained by a bill of rights, or any other records, and have not been and cannot be preserved by them. They and all other rights must be preserved, by soundness of sense and honesty of heart. Compared with these, what are a bill of rights, or any characters drawn upon paper or parchment, those frail remembrancers? do we want to be reminded, that the sun enlightens, warms, invigorates, and cheers? or how horrid would it be, to have his blessed beams intercepted, by our being thrust into mines or dungeons? liberty is the sun of freemen, and the beams are their rights.

"It is the duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable palladium in all its rights; to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired by the different value of property, or otherwise deviated from its first institution; to amend it, wher-

NOTES.

\* Blackstone, III. 379.

† Idem, IV. 350.

‡ Idem, III. 381.



ever it is defective || ; and, above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the new and arbitrary methods of trial, which under a variety of plausible pretences, may, in time, imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of liberty." § Trial by jury is our birth-right ; and tempted to his own ruin, by some seducing spirit, must be the man, who, in opposition to the genius of united America, shall dare to attempt its subversion.

In the proposed confederation, it is preserved inviolable in criminal cases, and cannot be altered in other respects, but when united America demands it.

There seems to be a disposition in men to find fault—no difficult matter—rather than to do right. The works of creation itself have been objected to : and one learned prince declared, that if he had been consulted, they would have been improved. With what book has so much fault been found, as with the bible ? Perhaps, principally, because it so clearly and strongly enjoins men to do right. How many, how plausible objections have been made against it, with how much ardor, with how much pains ? Yet, the book has done an immensity of good in the world ; would do more, if duly regarded ; and might lead the objectors themselves and their posterity to perpetual happiness, if they would value it as they ought.

When objections are made to a system of high import, should they not be weighed against the benefits ? Are these great, positive, immediate ? Is there a chance of endangering them by rejection or delay ? May they not be attained without admitting the objections, supposing the objections to be well founded ? If the objections are well founded, may these not be hereafter admitted, without danger, disgust, or inconvenience ? Is the system so formed, that they may be thus admitted ? May they not be of less efficacy, than they are thought to be by their authors ? Are they not designed to hinder evils, which are generally deemed to be sufficiently provided a-

## NOTES.

|| See an enumeration of defects in trials by jury, Blackstone, III. 382.  
§ Idem, III. 381.

gainst ? May not the admission of them prevent benefits, that might otherwise be obtained ? In political affairs, is it not more safe and advantageous, for all to agree in measures that may not be best, than to quarrel among themselves, what are best ?

When questions of this kind, with regard to the plan proposed, are calmly considered, it seems reasonable to hope, that every faithful citizen of united America, will make up his mind, with much satisfaction to himself, and advantage to his country.

Philadelphia, April 19, 1788.

## LETTER V.

IT has been considered, what are the rights to be contributed, and how they are to be managed ; and it has been said, that republican tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of government for protecting the worthy against the licentious.

The protection herein mentioned, refers to cases between citizens and citizens, or states and states. But there is also a protection to be afforded to all the citizens, or states, against foreigners. It has been asserted, that this protection never can be afforded, but under an appropriation, collection, and application, of the general force, by the will of the whole combination. This protection is in a degree dependent on the former, as it may be weakened by internal discords, and especially where the worst party prevails. Hence it is evident, that such establishments as tend most to protect the worthy against the licentious, tend most to protect all against foreigners. This position is found to be verified by indisputable facts, from which it appears, that when nations have been, as it were, condemned for their crimes, unless they first became suicides, foreigners have acted as executioners.

This is not all. As government is intended for the happiness of the people, the protection of the worthy against those of contrary characters, is calculated to promote the end of legitimate government, that is, the general welfare ; for the government will partake of the qualities of those whose authority is prevalent. If it be asked, who are the worthy, we may be informed by a heathen poet—

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"*Vir bonus est quis?*"

"*Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.*"

The best foundations of this protection, that can be laid by men, are a constitution and government secured, as well as can be, from the undue influence of passions, either in the people or their servants. Then in a contest between citizens and citizens, or states and states, the standard of laws may be displayed, explained, and strengthened by the well-remembered sentiments and examples of our forefathers, which will give it a sanctity far superior to that of their eagles, so venerated by the former masters of the world. This circumstance will carry powerful aids to the true friends of their country, and, unless counteracted by the follies of Phariseiz, or the accidents of Philippi, may secure the blessings of freedom to succeeding ages.

It has been contended, that the plan proposed to us, adequately secures us against the influence of passions in the federal servants. Whether it as adequately secures us against the influence of passions in the people, or in particular states, time will determine: and may the determination be propitious!

Let us now consider the tragical play of the passions in similar cases; or, in other words, the consequences of their irregularities. Duly governed, they produce happiness.

Here, the reader is respectfully requested, to assist the intentions of the writer, by keeping in mind, the ideas of a single republic, with one democratical branch in its government, and of a confederation of republics, with one or several democratical branches in the government of the confederation, or in the government of its parts, so that, as he proceeds, a comparison may easily run along, between any of these and the proposed plan.

History is entertaining and instructive: but, if it be admired chiefly for amusement, it may yield little profit. If read for improvement, it is apprehended, a slight attention only will be paid to the vast variety of particular incidents, unless it be such as may meliorate the heart. A knowledge of the distinguishing features of nations, the principles of their governments, the advantages and disadvantages of their

situations, the methods employed to avail themselves of the first, and to alleviate the last, their manners, customs, and institutions, the sources of events, their progress, and determining causes, may be eminently useful, though obscurity may rest upon a multitude of connecting circumstances. Thus, one nation may become prudent and happy, by the errors and misfortunes of another.

In Carthage and Rome, there was a very numerous senate, strengthened by prodigious attachments, and in a great degree independent of the people. So there was in Athens, especially as the senate of that state was supported by the court of Areopagus. In each of these republics, their affairs at length became convulsed, and their liberty was subverted. What cause produced these effects? encroachments of the senate upon the authority of the people? No! but directly the reverse, according to the unanimous voice of historians; that is, encroachments of the people upon the authority of the senate. The people of these republics absolutely laboured for their own destruction; and never thought themselves so free, as when they were promoting their subjugation. Yet, even after these encroachments had been made, and ruin was spreading round, the remnants of senatorial authority delayed the final catastrophe.

In more modern times, the Florentines exhibited a memorable example. They were divided into violent parties; and the prevailing one vested exorbitant powers in the house of Medici, then possessed, as it was judged, of more money, than any crowned head in Europe. Though that house engaged and persevered in the attempt, yet the people were never despoiled of their liberty, until they were overwhelmed by the armies of foreign princes, to whose enterprizes their situation exposed them.

Republics, of later date, and various form, appeared. Their institutions consist of old errors tissued with hasty inventions, somewhat executable, as the wills of the Romans, made with arms in their hands. Some of them were condensed by dangers. They are still compressed by them into a sort of union. Their well known transactions witness, that their connec-

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tion is not enough compact and arranged. They have all suffered, or are suffering, through that defect. Their existence seems to depend more upon others than themselves.

The wretched mistake of the great men who were leaders in the long parliament of England, in attempting, by not filling up vacancies, to extend their power over a brave and sensible people, accustomed to popular representation—and their downfall, when their victories and puissance by sea and land had thrown all Europe into astonishment and awe—shew, how difficult it is for rulers to usurp over a people who are not wanting to themselves.

Let the fortunes of confederated republics be now considered.

The Amphibiotic council, or general court of Greece, claims the first regard. Its authority was very great. But, the parts were not sufficiently combined, to guard against the ambitious, avaricious, and selfish projects of some of them; or, if they had the power, they dared not to employ it, as the turbulent states were very sturdy, and made a sort of partial confederacies.

The Achæan league seems to be the next in dignity. It was, at first, small, consisting of few states; afterwards, very extensive, consisting of many. In their diet or congress, they enacted laws; disposed of vacant employments; declared war; made peace; entered into alliances; compelled every state of the union to obey their ordinances, and managed other affairs. Not only their laws, but their magistrates, council, judges, money, weights and measures, were the same. So uniform were they, that all seemed to be but one state. Their chief officer called *strategos* was chosen in the congress by a majority of votes. He presided in the congress, and commanded the forces, and was vested with great power; especially in time of war: but was liable to be called to an account by the congress, and punished, if convicted of misbehaviour.

These states had been domineered by the kings of Macedon, and insulted by tyrants. From their incorporation, says Polybius, may be dated the birth of that greatness, that by a constant augmentation, at length arrived to a marvellous height of prosperity. The

same of their wise laws and mild government reached the Greek colonies in Italy, where the Crotoniates, the Sybarites, and the Cauloniates, agreed to adopt them, and to govern their states conformably.

Did the delegates to the Amphibiotic council, or to the congress of the Achæan league, destroy the liberty of their country, by establishing monarchy or aristocracy among themselves? quite the contrary. While the several states continued faithful to the union, they prospered. Their affairs were shattered by dissensions, emulations, and civil wars, artfully and diligently fomented by princes who thought it their interest; and in the case of the Achæan league, chiefly, by the folly and wickedness of Greeks, not of the league, particularly the *Ætolians*, who repined at the glories, that constantly attended the banner of freedom, supported by virtue, and conducted by prudence. Thus weakened, they all sunk together, the envied and the envying, under the domination, first of Macedon, and then of Rome.

Let any man of common sense peruse these mournful, but instructive pages of their stories, and he will be convinced, that if any nation could successfully have resisted those conquerors of the world, the illustrious work had been achieved by Greece, that cradle of republics, if the several states had been cemented by some such league as the Achæan, and had honestly fulfilled its obligations.

It is not pretended, that the Achæan league was perfect, or that there were not monarchical and aristocratical factions among the people of it. Every concession of that sort, that can be asked, shall be made. It had many defects; every one of which, however, has been avoided in the plan proposed to us. It had also inordinate monarchical and aristocratical factions; from which, happily, we are clear.

With all its defects, with all its disorders, yet such was the life and vigour communicated through the whole, by the popular representation of each part, and by the close combination of all, that the true spirit of republicanism predominated, and thereby advanced the happiness and glory of the people to so pre-eminent a state,

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that our ideas upon the pleasing theme cannot be too elevated. Here is the proof of this assertion. When the Romans had laid Carthage in ashes—had reduced the kingdom of Macedonia to a province—had conquered Antiochus the great, and got the better of all their enemies in the east—these Romans, masters of so much of the then known world, determined to humble the Achæan league, because, as history expressly informs us, their great power began to raise no small jealousy at Rome.

What an immense weight of argument do these circumstances and facts add to the maintenance of the principle contended for by the writer of this address?

FABIUS.



*Impossibility of devising a form of government universally acceptable. Conduct of the Jews. Corah's conspiracy. Moses accused of peculation.*

A Zealous advocate for the proposed federal constitution, in a certain public assembly, said, that the repugnance of a great part of mankind to good government, was such, that he believed, if an angel from heaven was to bring down a constitution formed there for our use, it would nevertheless meet with violent opposition. He was reproved for the supposed extravagance of the sentiment; and he did not justify it. Probably it might not have immediately occurred to him that the experiment had been tried, and that the event was recorded in the most faithful of all histories, the holy bible; otherwise he might, as it seems to me, have supported his opinion by that unexceptionable authority.

The supreme being had been pleased to nourish up a single family, by continued acts of his attentive providence, 'till it became a great people; and having rescued them from bondage by many miracles, performed by his servant Moses, he personally delivered to that chosen servant, in presence of the whole nation, a constitution and code of laws for their observance, accompanied and sanctioned with promises of great rewards, and threats of severe punishments, as the consequence of their obedience or disobedience.

This constitution, though the Deity himself was to be at its head, and it is therefore called by political writers a theocracy, could not be carried into execution but by the means of his ministers; Aaron and his sons were, therefore, commissioned to be, with Moses, the first established ministry of the new government.

One would have thought, that the appointment of men who had distinguished themselves in procuring the liberty of their nation, and hazarded their lives in openly opposing the will of a powerful monarch, who would have retained that nation in slavery, might have been an appointment acceptable to a grateful people; and that a constitution, framed for them by the Deity himself, might, on that account, have been secure of an universal welcome reception; yet there were, in every one of the thirteen tribes, some discontented restless spirits, who were continually exciting them to reject the proposed new government, and this from various motives.

Many still retained an affection for Egypt, the land of their nativity; and these, whenever they felt any inconvenience or hardship, though the natural and unavoidable effect of their change of situation, exclaimed against their leaders as the authors of their trouble, and were not only for returning into Egypt, but for stoning their deliverers\*. Those inclined to idolatry, were displeased that their golden calf was destroyed. Many of the chiefs thought the new constitution might be injurious to their particular interests, that the profitable places would be engrossed by the families and friends of Moses and Aaron—and others, equally wellborn, excluded.†

In Josephus and the Talmud, we learn some particulars, not so fully narrated in the scripture. We are there told, that Corah was ambitious

#### NOTES.

\* Numbers, chap. xiv.

† Numbers, chap. xvi. ver. 3. And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them,—wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation?



of the priesthood, and offended that it was conferred on Aaron, and this, as he said, by the authority of Moses only, without the consent of the people. He accused Moses of having, by various artifices, fraudulently obtained the government, and deprived the people of their liberties; and of conspiring with Aaron, to perpetuate the tyranny in their family.

Thus, though Corah's real motive was to supplant Aaron, he persuaded the people that he meant only the public good; and they, moved by his insinuations, began to cry out, "Let us maintain the common liberty of our respective tribes; we have freed ourselves from the slavery imposed upon us by the Egyptians, and shall we suffer ourselves to be made slaves by Moses? If we must have a master, it were better to return to Pharaoh, who at least fed us with bread and onions, than to serve this new tyrant, who, by his operations, has brought us into danger of famine." Then they called in question the reality of his conferences with God, and objected the privacy of the meetings, and the preventing any of the people from being present at the colloquies, or even approaching the place, as grounds of great suspicion.

They accused Moses, also, of speculation, as embezzling part of the golden spoons and the silver chargers, which the princes had offered at the dedication of the altar\*, and the offerings of gold by the common people†, as well as most of the poll tax‡; and Aaron they accused of pocketing much of the gold, of which he intended to have made a molten calf. Besides speculation, they charged Moses with ambition; to gratify which passion, he had, they said, deceived the people, by promising to bring them to a land flowing with milk and honey; instead of doing which, he had brought them from such a land; and that he thought light of all this mischief, provided he could make himself an absolute prince.¶ That to support the

new dignity with splendor in his family, the partial poll-tax already levied, and given to Aaron§, was to be followed by a general one¶, which would probably be augmented from time to time, if he were suffered to go on promulgating new laws, on pretence of new occasional revelations of the divine will, 'till their whole fortune were devoured by that aristocracy.

Moses denied the charge of speculation; and his accusers were destitute of proofs to support it, though facts, if real, are in their nature capable of proof. "I have not," said he, with holy confidence in the presence of God, "I have not taken from this people the value of an ass, nor done them any other injury." But his enemies had made the charge with some success among the populace, for no kind of accusation is so readily made, or easily believed, by knaves, as the accusation of knavery.

In fine, no less than two hundred and fifty of the principal men "famous in the congregation, men of renown\*\*," heading and exciting the mob, worked them up to such a pitch of phrensy, that they called out, "Stone 'em. Stone 'em, and thereby secure our liberties; and let us choose other captains that may lead us back into Egypt, in case we do not succeed in reducing the Canaanites."

On the whole, it appears, that the Israelites were a people jealous of their new acquired liberty, which jealousy was in itself no fault; but, that when they suffered it to be worked upon by artful men, pretending public good, with nothing really in view but private interest, they were led to oppose the establishment of the new constitution, whereby they brought upon themselves much inconvenience, and misfortune. It farther appears, from the same inestimable history, that when, after many ages, that constitution was become old and much abused, and an

## NOTES.

it a small thing, that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou makest thyself altogether a prince over us?"

§ Numbers, chap. iii.

¶ Exodus, chap. xxx.

\*\* Numbers, chap. xvi.

\* Numbers, chap. vii.

† Exodus, chap. xxxv. v. 29.

‡ Numbers, chap. iii. and Exodus, chap. xxx.

¶ Numbers, chap. xv. ver. 13, "I:

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amendment of it was proposed, the populace, as they had accused Moses of the ambition of making himself a prince, and cried out, "stone him, stone him;" so, excited by their high priests and scribes, they exclaimed against the Messiah, that he aimed at becoming king of the Jews, and cried out, "crucify him, crucify him." From all which we may gather that popular opposition to a public measure is no proof of its impropriety, even though the opposition be excited and headed by men of distinction.

To conclude, I beg I may not be understood to infer, that our general convention was divinely inspired, when it formed the new federal constitution, merely because that constitution has been unreasonably and vehemently opposed; yet I must own, I have so much faith in the general government of the world by providence, that I can hardly conceive a transaction of such momentous importance to the welfare of millions now existing, and to exist in the posterity of a great nation, should be suffered to pass without being in some degree influenced, guided, and governed by that omnipotent, omnipresent and beneficent ruler, in whom all inferior spirits live, and move, and have their being.

Philadelphia, April 8, 1788.

*Observations on the new constitution: by Mr. Mandrillon, of Amsterdam, author of the "American Spectator."*

THE united states of America, while fighting for liberty, early perceived, that the most certain mean of insuring the fruit of their victory was to occupy themselves in forming a constitution, capable of making the laws respected and satisfactory to the people: but as it was difficult to foresee the changes that might happen in respect to the constitution, the united states, by their act of confederation and perpetual union, reserved to themselves the right of revising the articles of this confederation and of engrafting thereon such alterations and amendments as should be deemed necessary for the public good.

As the association of all the states had no other object but the formation of a consolidated republic; it was es-

sential to give to this union, that is to say, to the government of this federal republic, the energy and force requisite to accomplish the general design of the league, without derogating from the prerogatives which compose the sovereignty and legislative authority of each individual member of the confederacy. To effect so desirable an improvement, delegates, appointed by every state, met at Philadelphia, in conformity to a circular recommendation of congress; and there held their national assembly, under the name of the convention.

The experience of all ages hath proved that it is impossible for a state to support itself in peace and prosperity, if the laws do not fix invariably the rights of the sovereign and the people; by defining and determining the extent and limits of each power in such manner as not to be productive of abuse, on the part of the supreme authority, or disobedience, on the part of the people. Such hath been, to the present hour, the constant study of the Americans. Let our vows ascend to heaven, that their generous efforts may be crowned with the most splendid success, and the most perfect felicity!

And ye! Oh my dear fellow-citizens—ye, whom two centuries of prosperity have not been able to guarantee from an almost entire subversion—ye, to whom providence seemed to have exclusively confided the sceptre of the sea and the wand of Mercury, ye have now the superlative mortification of contemplating those precious pledges, which constituted your glory and happiness, escaped from your hands. Had your ancestors, after having vanquished Philip, occupied themselves more with their constitution than their conquests, ye would have found yourselves sheltered from the revolutions that equally prejudice all the parties into which ye are divided. Reclaim not your liberty—the attempt would be vain; that daughter of the skies, cannot reign but among a virtuous people. American people! preserve your morals and your laws, if ye wish to preserve your country happy and free!!!

Souls of sensibility! ye, who cherish humanity, read the letter and

details annexed \*; the translation of which I present with the more pleasure, as they are new monuments of glory for America, and for the great men who do honour to that country. Ye will continue also to admire and respect the virtues and sublime talents of general Washington, whose name alone is more expressive than any eulogium that could possibly be formed.



*An account of the life and character of mr. John Pierce, paymaster general in the united states, and sole commissioner for settling the accounts of the army; who died at New-York, August 1788.—Written by col. David Humphreys, late aid-de-camp to his excellency general Washington.*

THE observation is not unfounded, though often invidiously made by those who were hostile to American independence, that the late war gave celebrity to many persons who would otherwise have remained in obscurity, or only been known in some narrow corner of the continent. It was the nature of the colonial establishments to circumscribe the sphere of action, cramp the expansion of the mind, or confine its pursuit to professional objects: hence the want of distinction might have been naturally imputed to the degrading influence of the system, not the want of abilities to fill the most important posts of an independent government. As the theatre and prospects became extended, men's actions and views grew proportionably greater. No sooner were the united colonies changed, by a perilous elevation, from the dependent condition of provinces to the precarious rank of sovereignty; than motives of duty, emulation and glory roused the peaceful citizens to assume and dignify different characters, in support of independence. The same necessity, that propelled the farmer, the merchant, the lawyer, and the mechanic to the field, awakened, perhaps, in their unconscious breasts, the dormant powers of genius, and consecrated their achievements to immortal fame. In

NOTE.

\* The letter to congress and the constitution.

such an unusual, if not unprecedented, revolution, the variety of offices to be filled, the diversity of talents requisite to perform their functions, and the equality of pretensions among the competitors, must have been peculiarly favourable to unprotected merit. The recent death of mr. Pierce, a gentleman who owed his promotion to himself alone, occasioned these reflections, and will apologize for this short account of him. His life will furnish a practical lesson of virtue rewarded, and a grateful incitement to our young countrymen, who may hereafter be engaged in public affairs, to persevere in the career of patriotism. While one life after another, of those who have served their country, in various stations, during the revolution, becomes extinct; it is a tender and melancholy duty for their surviving associates to drop a tear over their graves, and to draw such true, though unembellished likenesses, of the departed patriots, as may serve to keep their merits in remembrance, long after their perishable part shall have been mingled with its congenial dust.

Mr. John Pierce was a native of Litchfield in Connecticut. His father and grand-father, men in moderate circumstances, but of reputable characters, pursued the occupation of potters. In a society remarkable for an equal distribution of property, a general diffusion of knowledge, and an ancient habit of regarding merit as the best recommendation; inducements can never be wanting for young men to rely, with uncommon confidence, on their own genius and exertions. An education calculated for real usefulness may be obtained, perhaps, at less expence and with more facility, in the state where mr. Pierce was born, than in any other part of America. He was instructed in the learned languages, and instituted in the rudiments of polite literature, at one of those grammar schools, which are established by government, in every county town, in the state of Connecticut. He afterwards read law with an attorney, and was admitted to the practice, at the commencement of the late war. But finding, from the turbulence of the times, that the prospect was unfavourable at the bar, and that his services might be useful with the

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army, he went as a clerk into a commissary's store at the northward. From thence he became an assistant in the pay office of the separate army, in the same department. The junction of the three corps, which had served the year before separately, under the orders of gen. Washington, gen. Putnam and gen. Gates, at the White Plains in 1778; and the consequent resignation of colonel Trumbull, his principal, left him in the character of a deputy to colonel Palfry, the pay-master general, at the head quarters of the main army.

The tide in human affairs at length brought mr. Pierce to the moment, which was to prove the crisis of his fortunes. When colonel Palfry was appointed consul general to France, several gentlemen of fair pretensions, were candidates for filling the first seat in the pay office, which had thus become vacant. Nor will it easily be comprehended by those who are possessed of European ideas, respecting the disposal of ministerial appointments, how a young man, like mr. Pierce, who had risen from a low station on the civil staff, without fortune, without influence, without friends, should have been nominated to an office of so much trust and importance. It was his lot to have conducted the whole business with the main army for some time before the vacancy took place: and fortunately for him, the advantages to be derived from a manly understanding, indefatigable application and inflexible honesty, were known and appreciated. The commander in chief, impressed with an idea that mr. Pierce would perform the duties with great fidelity and ability, interested himself somewhat on the occasion. While the matter was yet depending before congress, his excellency wrote commendatory letters to some of his private correspondents, and had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the result.

On the 17th of January 1781, mr. Pierce was elected pay-master general; and, before the dissolution of the army, commissioner for settling their accounts. His conduct, in transacting the complicated business which devolved upon him, fully justified the confidence that had been reposed in him, by these appointments. The trouble, in the former, was infinitely

accumulated by the poverty of the military chest and the defect of regular payments. It is known that the want of money to discharge the arrears, left an unsettled account between the public and every individual, who belonged to the army. These accounts were liquidated, and certificates of the balances were signed in the hand writing of mr. Pierce. This was a most arduous task, in the accomplishment of which, innumerable perplexities and embarrassments must have occurred. No stronger testimony can be adduced of his clearness in stating the accounts, independence in rejecting improper claims, and candour in allowing such as had a title to admission, than the approbation of congress, the board of treasury, the officers and privates of the army.

Nature had done much more for him, than was generally imagined when he first entered the service; for he was then remarkably uncouth in his figure, awkward in his manners, and forbidding in his address. Strong powers of mind, amiable dispositions, and sensible looks, he possessed, or rather concealed, under this unpromising disguise. Upon hearing of precious jewels in some unexpected place, one is naturally led to enquire in what kind of casket they are contained. The exterior of mr. Pierce is readily described. He was about five feet seven inches high, of a slender form, delicate constitution, thin visage, pale complexion, aquiline nose, and piercing eyes. The jostlings of an army quickly rubbed off the rough points of rusticity; and the habits of society soon made his deportment appear not only unembarrassed and easy—but even, to a certain degree, engaging and graceful. It was observable that our young officers profited by their opportunities in a wonderful manner: so that the captains, the subalterns of the military staff, at the close of the war, would not, perhaps, have suffered by a comparison † with officers

NOTE.

† This observation was made by some enlightened and distinguished foreigners, after the siege of York Town, upon seeing officers of several nations together, viz. American, French, English, Scotch, Irish, and German.

of a similar grade, in any service of Europe. Mr. Pierce had a better basis than most of them to build his character upon. His mind was singularly susceptible of improvement; and he assiduously employed in its cultivation those intervals from the duties of his office, which method and diligence had enabled him to vindicate for his own. He had read the best writers in the English language. To a keen relish for the belles lettres, he joined such poetical talents, as sometimes displayed themselves in the composition of verse with fluency and correctness. In his friendly epistles his diction was copious and sentimental. His fashion of thinking was bold, yet just, and his official writings were distinguished for conciseness and perspicuity of style. He evidently thought well of his own capacity; but in thus thinking, he only did an act of justice to himself, and echoed the sentiment of the public. Sometimes in conversation with his intimate acquaintances, he indulged himself in expressions that favored of vanity; but it was a venial vanity, arising from a consciousness of having deservedly made his way in the world, and of having merited the distinction he had acquired. It originated not from the supercilious pride, that keeps the possessor aloof from social enjoyment; nor did it check the current of active benevolence, that flows for the sons and daughters of affliction.

Our republic never had a more faithful officer in its service; and the nation, which shall be as ably served, will find occasion to applaud its good fortune. His friends were witnesses to the sensibility of an undisguised soul, and approved the tenor of a private life without a stain. Nearly two years before his death, he married miss Bard, a daughter of doctor Bard, of New-York. His conduct in all the domestic relations was truly of the most refined and exemplary species. As he could not be surpassed in demonstrations of conjugal tenderness, filial piety, and fraternal affection, the warmest commendation will be in no danger of degenerating into exaggerated eulogium. To use the elegant expression of the elegiac poet, "Heaven did a recompense as largely send." The sunshine of his days was more sel-

dom interrupted by the clouds of adversity, than might reasonably have been expected, in this tempestuous world. By the fair profit of his offices, and a just regard to economy, he had made an independent, but not a great, estate. He was happy in receiving unequivocal proofs of esteem from congress the generals under whom he acted, and a great number of the most respectable individuals on the continent. In the course of thirteen years' laborious service, the late paymaster general had a little reason as any man in the union, to complain of the neglect or ingratitude of his countrymen; the object of this account is, that there may be none to accuse, at least some of his survivors, of forgetfulness and silence.



*Extracts from a "memoir to the American philosophical society." Ascribed to Hugh H. Brackenridge, esq.*

(Continued from page 135.)

THE animal of which I speak, is without a name, but, as far as I could observe, it is about the size of a two year old colt, though it has not the least resemblance of the equine or horse kind; but is distinguished in the first place, by the jambe, or loin, being bare of hair or feathers; whereas the fémia of Bengal is hairy, or rather has a kind of wool on this part. However, I am persuaded this is not at all of the ape kind, but rather of the buzzard, having a long beak not a little resembling a sword-fish, with small owlet eyes, and a tuft of feathers, if feathers they may be called, which are joined together like a piece of leather, but have a soft down upon them like that of a goose.

Barbaroussa, in his travels through Japan, describes an animal somewhat like this, and ranks it with the furnate, or four-toed heron; but it is evident, from the octagonal form of the ears, that it cannot be of this species. In short, it cannot be referred to any class that I know, of all those that either Gregoire de Roliver describes to be in his native country of Peru, or what Hasselquist tells us are to be found in the province of Altaga, in Tartary; so that on all hands, I conclude, that it is not of any known

genus, but approaching to that of men, or outang, or rational animal, at a loss to know what it is, but what it is, I cannot say. I have seen it in Edinburgh, and it wants in thinking, and in the philosophy of the mind, and there are two of them, distinguished by even individuals, or any thing else.

It was like, in the eleventh century, as a horse, or a rock was I could not say the bottom, no under did not want to examine turning to ris and it, and the ta-ley kind in my opinion, seeming between prison to ing and tion. I express at a loss ivory or it, as I carnified.

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genus, but wholly a new animal, and approaching nearer to the cogitation of men, than the elephant or ouranoutang, or indeed any other of the irrational creatures. Irrational! I am at a loss to say, if it is irrational. It has not the use of speech, it is true, but what the Scotchman said of the owl, when he saw the sign of it at Edinburgh, may be said of this, what it wants in speaking, it pays away in thinking; for it has evidently a philosophic taste and disposition of enquiry, and therefore I have called it the virtuoso. This is what I conceive distinguishes it from all other animals, even independent of form, feathers, or any thing else of corporal appearance.

It was about sixty miles from Carlisle, in this state, that I saw it, in the cleft of a rock, on the north mountain, as I was looking for a strayed horse, with a bridle in my hand. The rock was on the summit of a hill, and I could have a full view of it from the bottom, the trees being thin and no underwood to check the view. I did not venture to approach near, or to examine it then perfectly; but returning next day with Rowland Harris and his four sons, I came near to it, and threw it the handle of a jock-ta-ley knife that I happened to have in my pocket. It took it up with seeming admiration, and holding it between its paws, as you would a prism to the sun, it eyed it, still turning and observing it with great attention. I could almost discover, by the expression of its countenance, it was at a loss to determine whether it was ivory or bone. Perhaps it might take it, as L'Escot did the cat's tail, for a carnisied parsnip.

Amongst the things which this animal had before him, I observed the rim of a spinning wheel, which he had plundered from the settlement; and, as it seemed to me, might have mistaken it for one of the vertebræ, or back-bone joints of some large animal. Several bones were amongst its feet, but what particularly struck me, was the head of a small rake, which, as far as I could judge, it might imagine to be the jaw bone and teeth of some great rhinoceros.

I approached this extraordinary animal, Rowland Harris and his sons

before mentioned, being at my back, and came within three paces of it, while, in the mean time, it remained undisturbed, viewing through its paws a horn comb, which he had got, and taking it, I conceive, for a kind of shell-fish. It is not a small thing, you know, that will disturb a philosopher in his reveries, and this animal evidently having the cogitation and enquiry of a virtuoso, which led me to call it so, is of the same retired and absent mind, intent only on the nature and properties of things before it. I had thought to put my hand across its neck, that it might not bite; but just as I was going to lay hold of it, I became sensible of a musky smell, and retired. But, on reflecting since, I am disposed to think this may be what philosophers mean by instinct, of which this animal has a great share, even coming up to a degree of reason; be this as it may, I am considering what notice it might be proper to take of this wild creature. As it discovers the same taste, would it be exceptionable to introduce it as a member of your institution? if you admit, as is said, in some instances, men with the ignorance of beasts, why not beasts with the sagacity of men? this is well known to have been done in almost all societies, literary or otherwise, that have been formed. I say nothing of Caligula, who made his horse a senator; for that being in a despotic monarchy, ought not to be a precedent in a free government.

Being informed that your society has become a party thing, and that it no longer remains a question whether the individual is learned, or only knows b from a bull's foot, but whether he is for the constitution, or against it, it may be a question, with regard to this animal, should it come in nomination, of what side he is, and the members not knowing this, may black-ball him. This is a hardship, for I question much if it has made up its mind on the subject. But this I will say, that coming down to this city, it will naturally put up at the black bear, or the sign of the opossum, where the constitutionalists usually meet; for seeing the shapes of these creatures, to the view of which it has been accustomed on the mountains, it will go to them. But whatever it does out of

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doors, if it takes my advice, when it is amongst you, it will act as becomes a philosopher, and have nothing to do with party. However, after all, let it do as it will, it is ten to one but it is classed with one or the other. The republicans will say, it is a skunk, and indeed from its personal appearance, it will be difficult to wipe off the imputation. The constitutionalists, on the other hand, if it does not go with them on all questions, will insinuate that it is the image of some disaffected person, who, being tarred and feathered in the war, has fled through Conococheague to the north mountains, and there remained until the feathers have grown to its skin, and it has lost the speech of man. If this should be the case, and it should get into the assembly, it would overturn the government. I should be sorry the newly-adopted sons should get it over, though I know they will do what is in their power; for if they want a caricatura, it will be a real one, and adorn their plates the best. I know it naturally belongs to them in the scale of things, but being a native of the country, their claim can by no means comprehend it.

In this day of lightness and vanity, when all men are attempting wit, and so many hit it, it may be thought that my account of this beast, is not the narration of a plain truth, but is allegorical; and that, by it, I have some individual in my eye of the human species, who has been admitted into your body. I declare I mean no such thing: it is really and absolutely a beast. This being averred, it may be thought that I mean to treat with ridicule this respectable society, in proposing it as a member. Far am I from any thing of this kind; I have no such intention. It is true, that, until lately, I could not have believed, that learning or understanding was not a prerequisite of admission; but this was owing to my extravagant ideas of philosophic pride and dignity; which ideas I had drawn from my reading the old books, and conversing with Archimedes and Newton, Pythagoras and Boyle; with the schools of the ancients, and the societies of modern Europe; but had not considered your body, and observed that it was composed of heterogeneous materials; that

with a latitude becoming philosophy, and in a spirit truly catholic, you admit all. In accomplishment of the words of the scripture, "Jew and Gentile are brought in; the middle wall of partition is broken down; the illiterate and the incapable knowledge are introduced." Nay, any are excluded, they are the more intelligent; so that your mysteries are hid from the "wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes."

I have had no life with my man Paddy ever since the admission of Orichon fore-mentioned; for he will be in too he thinks he knows as much as Orichon and I believe he does; but, by the bye, they are both as ignorant as my horse; yet, that being no material objection, I would give him leave, were it not that I cannot conveniently spare his time. I have a great many things to do in the evenings, such as running of errands and the like, so that I cannot conveniently permit him to be out of the way. It will be a great disappointment to him, if I do not give him leave, for he has been preparing a memoir for several days past, tho' by the bye, he has had the assistance of one of your body; it is on the colour of whiskey, which, you know, is the *aqua mirabilis* of the ancients. I am told that a jug of it has been found in the ruins of Herculaneum. If there is any of your body that understands the quality of that liquor, I wish to God you would send him over to Italy, to see if there is any more of it, for being upwards of a thousand years old, it must be rare stuff indeed.

After what is said, there can be no one who will imagine that I disapprove of this free ingress which is given to all men, especially the ignorant, by your society, for it is meet that such should be instructed. Besides, unless that those of all kinds of knowledge, from the highest to the lowest parts of nature, are present, how should your institution answer the great end of collecting and communicating general information? For instance, should it be proposed as a question, what are the indicia or distinguishing marks of the age of a full grown horse? What could be said, unless you had by you, as a member of your body, some old groom or horse-farrier to instruct on this!

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You know the grounds are two of distinguishing and deciding on this point:

1. The caudoneus or tail-marks, and 2. the maxillary or jaw-bone marks. I shall leave them to be handled by some ingenious member in due time, singly or together, as may seem proper. It is true, when justice Clingan was a member of congress, he was much offended with me for talking him the age of my horse, though I well knew he was a perfect jockey; but surely it can be no degradation to a naturalist to be thought skilled on this subject.

You have, as far as I can understand, a great many trades amongst you; but there is one thing, in which, if I am rightly informed, you are deficient, that is a weaver. Suppose now the question should be, in weaving yard wide cloth, of how many splits must a fifteen hundred reed consist? What could be done without a tradesman, inasmuch as the maxim is, *Unicuique in arte sua perito credendum est*? I would therefore propose Allen M'Alpin, as a member, one of the adopted sons two, who is as good a weaver, though I say it, who recommend him, as ever came from Paisley; and though he has so much of the dialect of that country as to be rather unintelligible to an American; yet, when he writes, he spells nearly the same way that our weavers do, making allowance for the idioms, and some peculiar words, such as poke for bag, and a sneethin for a pinch of snuff, and the like.

I see in your transactions, two or three learned dissertations on the use of chimnies; pray, have you any one amongst your body, that could give a dissertation on the nature of foot? There is a sweeper, that I sometimes see, an intelligent young man, but rather of a dusky complexion, that from long experience must have a thorough knowledge of this element, and could give information; but I do by no means mention him as a member, for I cannot give my word that he is either a constitutionalist or a republican. The truth is, I believe, he knows nothing about it, as few do who talk of it; most of the violent advocates that I have met with, seeming to think it is something in the shape of a grey horse,

The Pennsylvania farmer's letters.

(Continued from page 286.)

#### LETTER II.

My dear countrymen,

THERE is another late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional, and as destructive to the liberty of these colonies, as that mentioned in my last letter; that is, the act for granting the duties on paper, glass, &c. \*

The parliament unquestionably possesses a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great-Britain, and all her colonies. Such an authority is essential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies; and necessary for the common good of all. He, who considers these provinces as states distinct from the British empire, has very slender notions of justice, or of their interests. We are but parts of a whole; and therefore there must exist a power somewhere, to preside, and preserve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the parliament; and we are as much dependent on Great-Britain, as a perfectly free people can be on another.

I have looked over every statute relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the stamp-act administration †, All before are cal-

#### NOTES,

\* 7 Geo. III. ch. 46.

† For the satisfaction of the reader, recitals from the former acts of parliament relating to these colonies, are added. By comparing these with the modern acts, he will perceive their great difference, in expression and intention.

The 12th Cha. II. chap. 18, which forms the foundation of the laws relating to our trade, by enacting that certain productions of the colonies should be carried to England only, and that no goods shall be imported from the plantations but in ships belonging to England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick, or the plantations, &c. begins thus; For the increase of shipping, and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength



culated to regulate trade, and preserve or promote a mutually-beneficial intercourse between the several constituent parts of the empire; and though many of them imposed duties on trade, yet those duties were always imposed

## NOTE.

of this kingdom is so much concerned," &c.

The 15th Cha. II. chap. 7, enforcing the same regulation, assigns these reasons for it. "In regard his majesty's plantations, beyond the seas, are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woollen, and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supplying of them; and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves," &c.

The 25th Cha. II. chap. 7, made expressly "for the better securing the plantation trade," which imposes duties on certain commodities exported from one colony to another, mentions this cause for imposing them: "Whereas by one act, passed in the 10th year of your majesty's reign, entitled, An act for encouragement of shipping and navigation, and by several other laws, passed since that time, it is permitted to ship, &c. sugars, tobacco, &c. of the growth, &c. of any of your majesty's plantations in America, &c. from the places of their growth, &c. to any other of your majesty's plantations in those parts, &c. and that without paying custom for the same, either at the lading or unlading the said commodities, by means whereof the trade and navigation in those commodities, from one plantation to another, is greatly increased; and the inhabitants of divers of those colonies, not contenting themselves with being supplied

with design to restrain the commerce of one part, that was injurious to another, and thus to promote the general welfare. The raising a revenue thereby was never intended.

Thus the king, by his judges in

## NOTE.

with those commodities for their use, free from all customs (while the subjects of this your kingdom of England have paid great customs and impositions for what of them hath been spent here) but, contrary to the express letter of the aforesaid laws, have brought into divers parts of Europe great quantities thereof, and do also vend great quantities thereof to the shipping of other nations, who bring them into divers parts of Europe, to the great hurt and diminution of your majesty's customs, and of the trade and navigation of this your kingdom; for the prevention thereof," &c.

The 7th and 8th Will. III. chap. 22, entitled, "An act for preventing frauds, and regulating abuses in the plantation trade," recites that, "notwithstanding divers acts, &c. great abuses are daily committed, to the prejudice of the English navigation, and the loss of a great part of the plantation trade to this kingdom, by the artifice and cunning of ill disposed persons: for remedy whereof, &c. And whereas in some of his majesty's American plantations, a doubt or misconstruction has arisen upon the before mentioned act, made in the 25th year of the reign of king Charles II. whereby certain duties are laid upon the commodities therein enumerated, (which by law may be transported from one plantation to another, for the supply of each others wants) as if the same were, by the payment of those duties in one plantation, discharged from giving the securities intended by the aforesaid acts, made in the 18th, 22d, and 23d years of the reign of king Charles the II. and consequently be at liberty to go to any foreign market in Europe," &c.

The 6th Anne, chap. 37, reciting the advancement of trade, and encouragement of ships of war, &c. grants to the captors the property of all prizes carried into America, subject to such customs and duties, as if the same had been first imported into

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courts of justice, imposes fines, which all together amount to a considerable sum, and contribute to the support of government: but this is merely a consequence arising from restrictions, that only meant to keep peace, and prevent confusion; and surely a man

NOTE.

any part of Great Britain, and from thence exported, &c.

This was a gift to persons acting under commissions from the crown, and therefore it was reasonable that the terms prescribed in that gift, should be complied with—more especially as the payment of such duties was intended to give a preference to the productions of British colonies, over those of other colonies: however, being found inconvenient to the colonies, about four years afterwards, this act was for that reason, so far repealed, that by another act "all prize goods, imported into any part of Great Britain, from any of the plantations, were made liable to such duties only in Great Britain, as in case they had been of the growth and produce of the plantations."

The 6th Geo. II. chap. 13, which imposes duties on foreign rum, sugar, and melasses, imported into the colonies, shews the reasons thus—"whereas the welfare and prosperity of your majesty's sugar colonies in America, are of the greatest consequence and importance to the trade, navigation, and strength of this kingdom; and whereas the planters of the said sugar colonies, have of late years fallen into such great discouragements, that they are unable to improve or carry on the sugar trade, upon an equal footing with the foreign sugar colonies, without some advantage and relief be given them from Great Britain: the remedy whereof, and for the good and welfare of your majesty's subjects," &c.

The 29th Geo. II. chap. 26, and the 1st Geo. III. chap. 9, which continue the 6th Geo. II. chap. 13, declare, that the said act hath, by experience, been found useful and beneficial, &c.

These are all the most considerable statutes relating to the commerce of the colonies; and it is thought to be utterly unnecessary to add any observations to these extracts, to prove that they were all intended solely as regulations of trade.

would argue very loosely, who should conclude from hence, that the king has a right to levy money in general upon his subjects. Never did the British parliament, till the period above mentioned, think of imposing duties in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue. Mr. Grenville first introduced this language, in the preamble to the 4th of Geo. III. chap. 12, which has these words, "and whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in your majesty's said dominions in America, for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same: we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, being desirous to make some provision in this present session of parliament, towards raising the said revenue in America, have resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rates and duties herein after mentioned," &c.

A few months after came the stamp-act, which reciting this, proceeds in the same strange mode of expostion, thus—"and whereas it is just and necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expences, we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, &c. give and grant," &c. as before.

The last act, granting duties on paper, &c. carefully pursues these modern precedents. The preamble is, Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in your majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards the further defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions, we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, &c. give and grant," &c. as before.

Here we may observe an authority expressly claimed and exerted to impose duties on these colonies; not for the regulation of trade; not for the preservation or promotion of a mutually-beneficial intercourse be-

tween the several constituent parts of the empire—heretofore the sole objects of parliamentary institutions; but for the single purpose of levying money upon us.

This I call an \* innovation—and a most dangerous innovation. It may, perhaps, be objected, that Great Britain has a right to lay what duties she pleases upon her <sup>+</sup> exports, and it makes no difference to us, whether they are paid here or there.

To this I answer. These colonies require many things for their use, which the laws of Great Britain prohibit them from getting any where but from her. Such are paper and glass.

That we may legally be bound to pay any general duties on these commodities, relative to the regulation of trade, is granted; but we being obliged by the laws to take them from Great Britain, any special duties imposed on their exportation to us only, with intention to raise a revenue from us only, are as much taxes upon us, as those imposed by the stamp-act.

What is the difference, in sub-

#### NOTE.

\* “It is worthy observation, how quietly subsidies, granted in forms usual and accustomed (though heavy) are borne; such a power hath use and custom. On the other side, what discontentments and disturbances subsidies, framed in a new mould, do raise (such an inbred hatred novelty doth hatch) is evident by examples of former times.”

Lord Cook's ed institute, p. 33.

+ Some people think that Great Britain has the same right to impose duties on the exports to these colonies, as on the exports to Spain, Portugal, &c. Such persons attend so much to the idea of exportation, that they entirely drop that of the connection between the mother country and her colonies. If Great Britain had always claimed, and exercised an authority to compel Spain and Portugal to import manufactures from her only, the cases would be parallel. But as she never pretended to such a right, they are at liberty to get them where they please; and if they choose to take them from her, rather than from other nations, they voluntarily con-

sent to pay the duties imposed on them. Hence and right, whether the same sum is raised upon us by the rates mentioned in the stamp-act, on the use of paper, or by these duties on the importation of it. It is only the edition of a former book, shifting a sentence from the end to the beginning.

Suppose the duties were made payable in Great Britain.

It signifies nothing to us, whether they are to be paid here or there. Had the stamp-act directed, that all the paper should be landed at Florida, and the duties paid there, before it was brought to the British colonies, would the act have raised less money upon us, or have been less destructive of our rights? by no means: for as we were under a necessity of using the paper, we should have been under the necessity of paying the duties. Thus, in the present case, a like necessity will subject us, if this act continues in force, to the payment of the duties now imposed.

Why was the stamp-act, then, so pernicious to freedom? it did not enact, that every man in the colonies should buy a certain quantity of paper. No: it only directed, that no instrument of writing should be valid in law, if not made on stamped paper, &c.

The makers of that act knew full well, that the confusions, which would arise from the disuse of writings, would compel the colonies to use the stamped paper, and therefore to pay the taxes imposed. For this reason the stamp-act was said to be a law, that would execute itself. For the very same reason, the last act of parliament, if it is granted to have any force here, will execute itself, and will be attended with the very same consequences to American liberty.

Some persons, perhaps, may say, that this act lays us under no necessity to pay the duties imposed, because we may ourselves manufacture the articles on which they are laid; whereas, by the stamp-act, no instrument of writing could be good, unless made on British paper, and that too stamped.

Such an objection amounts to no more than this, that the injury resulting to these colonies, from the total disuse of British paper and glass, will

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not be so afflicting as that which would have resulted from the total disuse of writing among them; for by that means even the stamp-act might have been eluded. Why then was it universally detested by them, as slavery itself? Because it presented to these devoted provinces nothing but a \* choice of calamities, embittered by indignities, each of which it was unworthy of freemen to bear. But is no injury a violation of right, but the greatest injury? If the eluding the payment of the taxes imposed by the stamp act, would have subjected us to a more dreadful inconvenience, than the eluding the payment of those imposed by the late act—does it therefore follow, that the last is no violation of our rights, tho' it is calculated for the same purpose the other was, that is, to raise money upon us, without our consent.

This would be making right to consist, not in an exemption from injury, but from a certain degree of injury.

But the objectors may further say, that we shall suffer no injury at all by the disuse of British paper and glass. We might not, if we could make as much as we want. But can any man, acquainted with America, believe this possible? I am told there are but two or three glass-houses on this continent, and but very few paper-mills; and suppose more should be erected, a long course of years must elapse, before they can be brought to perfection. This continent is a country of planters, farmers, and fishermen; not of manufacturers. The difficulty of establishing particular manufactures in such a country, is almost insuperable. For one manufacture is connected with others, in such a manner, that it may be said to be impossible to establish one or two, without establishing several others. The experience of many nations may convince us of this truth.

Inexpressible, therefore, must be our distresses, in evading the late act, by the disuse of British paper and glass. Nor will this be the extent of our misfortune, if we admit the legality of that act.

NOTE.

\* Either the disuse of writing, or the payment of taxes imposed by others without our consent.

Great-Britain has prohibited the manufacturing iron and steel in these colonies, without any objection being made to her right of doing it. The like right she must have to prohibit any other manufactures among us. Thus she is possessed of an undisputed precedent on that point. This authority, she will say, is founded on the original intention of settling these colonies; that is, that she should manufacture for them, and that they should supply her with materials. The equity of this policy, she will also say, has been universally acknowledged by the colonies, who never have made the least objection to statutes for that purpose; and will appear by the mutual benefits flowing from this usage, ever since the settlement of these colonies.

Our great advocate, mr. Pitt, in his speeches on the debate concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, acknowledged, that Great-Britain could restrain our manufactures. His words are these—"This kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets, without their consent." Again he says, "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets, without their consent."

Here, then, my dear countrymen, rouse yourselves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you once admit, that Great-Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, for the purpose of levying money on us only, she then will have nothing to do, but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture—and the tragedy of American liberty is finished. We have been prohibited from procuring manufactures, in all cases, any where but from Great Britain (excepting linens, which we are permitted to import directly from Ireland.) We have been prohibited, in some cases, from manufacturing for ourselves; and may be prohibited in others. We are therefore exactly in the situation of a city besieged, which is surrounded by the works of the besiegers, in every part

but one. If that is closed up, no step can be taken, but to surrender at discretion. If Great-Britain can order us to come to her for what necessities we want, and can order us to pay what taxes she pleases before we take them away, or even when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as any part of the world can shew in wooden shoes, and with uncombed hair.

Perhaps the nature of the necessities of dependent states, caused by the policy of a governing one, for her own benefit, may be elucidated by a fact mentioned in history. When the Carthaginians were possessed of the island of Sardinia, they made a decree, that the Sardinians should not raise corn, nor get it any other way than from the Carthaginians. Then by imposing any duties they would upon it, they drained from the miserable Sardinians any sums they pleased; and whenever the oppressed people made the least movement to assert their liberty, their tyrants \* starved

## NOTE.

\* That the plan of governing the colonists, by withholding necessities of life, and by practising other horrid, cruel devices, was, at the time of publishing these letters, seriously considered in Great Britain, and in what light colonies were viewed there, was manifested by following measures of administration, and may partly be shewn by these extracts from political essays published in London, and, as it was said, under the auspices of the ministry.

"It appears that the grand evil attending them was, the settlement of so considerable a part in a climate incapable of yielding the commodities wanting in Britain.

"Migrations to these ought totally to have been prevented, and encouraged only to the beneficial colonies."

After mentioning some contrivances to diminish the number of inhabitants in "unprofitable" parts of the country, the author proceeds—what I shall therefore venture to propose is, that the government, through the means of a few merchants acquainted with the American trade, that can be tolerably depended upon, should establish factors at Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and a few other ports, for the sale of such cargoes of British ma-

them to death or submission. This may be called the most perfect kind of political necessity.

## NOTE.

nufactures as should be consigned to them, and to consist of such particularly as were most manufactured in the province, with directions immediately, and continually to undersell all such colony manufactures.

"The ships which carried out such cargoes, should be large, bulky, &c. for the sake of bringing back large quantities of deal timber, boards, &c.

"But I laid down as a rule to proceed upon, that trade, fishing, and manufacturing, were put an entire stop to among the colonies. If the sugar islands contained ten millions of people, as destitute of necessities as they are at present, Britain would be as sure of their allegiance as she is at present—provided no power more formidable than herself at sea arose for their protection. The first dependence of our colonies, as well as all their people, is, to change the terms a little, upon corn worked into bread, and iron wrought into implements; or, in other words, it is upon necessary agriculture and necessary manufactures: for a people who do not possess these, to think of throwing off the yoke of another who supplies them with them, is an absurd idea—that is, nothing more than supposing, they would throw off their allegiance to axes and spades, and coats and shoes, which is absurd to imagine. The following, among other effects, would be the consequence of the plan sketched out—the people would depend on Britain for those necessities of life which result from manufactures—I shall add, in respect to Britain's further policy—that she should abide by the boundaries fixed already to the old colonies, that of the rivers' heads; and all further settling to be in new colonies—not suffer any sets of men to navigate the lakes—any provincial troops or militia to be raised—or places of communication from colony to colony—that in proportion as any colony declined in staples and threatened not to be able to produce a sufficiency of them, the inhabitants should receive such encouragement to leave it, as more than to drain its natural increase,

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From what has been said, I think this incontrovertible conclusion may be deduced, that when a ruling state obliges a dependent state to take certain commodities from her alone, it is implied in the nature of that obligation—is essentially requisite to give it the least degree of justice—and is inseparably united with it, in order to preserve any share of freedom to the dependent state—that those commodities should never be loaded with duties, for the sole purpose of levying money on the dependent state.

Upon the whole, the single question is, whether the parliament can legally impose duties to be paid by the people of these colonies only, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue, on commodities which the obliges us to take from her alone, or, in other words, whether the parliament can legally take money out of our pockets, without our consent. If they can, our boasted liberty is but

*Vox et præterea nihil.*

A sound and nothing else.

A FARMER.

Nov. 12, 1767.

*Balloons not a modern invention.*

I AM much surprised to find balloons considered as a modern invention. I hope to make it appear they have been known in all ages, and that they have been (unfortunately for mankind) the subjects of amusement and speculation in all countries.

Before I proceed to prove this assertion, I shall define a balloon to be “a contrivance that is carried about at the mercy of the air, and that is not applicable to any thing else.”

Now if this definition of a balloon be admitted (and it is certainly a just one) we shall find balloons both an-

NOTE.

unless new staples were discovered in it.

“This is now the case with those I have distinguished by the title of the northern colonies; in so much that Nova Scotia, Canada, New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, would be nearly of as much benefit to this country, buried in the ocean, as they are at present.”—*Political essays.*

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cient and universal. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall divide them into the following species.

1. A man with abilities and knowledge, without virtue, is a contrivance that is carried about by every wind that favours his inclinations, and is therefore of no use to society. Such a man is a balloon.

2. A man of an extravagant imagination, without judgment to direct it, is likewise a balloon.

3. Lawyers without consciences, doctors without humanity, and parsons without piety, are all nothing but balloons.

4. Orators without method, and writers without ideas, are both balloons.

5. Merchants without capitals, soldiers without courage, and farmers without industry, are all balloons.

6. Schemers of every kind without money, or credit, are balloons.

7. Politicians, who aim at uniting the freedom of savages, with the liberty, safety, and happiness of political society, are balloons.

8. Printers of newspapers without consciences to restrain them from murdering characters, are balloons; but with this difference from common balloons, that they are raised by means of a well known species of stinking air.

9. All governments that consist in a single legislature, whether this single legislature consists of one, or of many persons, are balloons. The present congress of the united states is nothing but a balloon.

II.

*Letter from dr. Fothergill to a gentleman in Massachusetts.*

London, Oct. 20, 1785.

*Respected friend,*

THE difficulty of conveying a letter safely, has been the principal cause of my silence, and not a disregard either to the writer, or the obliging and informing letters, which at three different times I have received from him. I have endeavoured faithfully to make use of the very sensible hints they contained, as far as they lay in my power, for the good of both countries; but in vain. Neither advice, information, nor experience make any impression. The

K

cause of this infatuation is not a common one, and its effects may turn to our humiliation and amendment, when providence may see meet to turn our hearts to wisdom. It will not, I think, be long in our power to molest you. It is not only France and Spain that are in alliance with you, but most of the states of Europe; they wish to share your commerce; and, at the same time, they wish to humble the pride of this country, whose insolence and haughtiness has created us many, many enemies.

I sometimes flatter myself that there may be at the bottom of this confederacy, a plan highly useful and advantageous to humanity, and yet when I reflect how far short of perfect civilization the foremost powers of Europe are, I almost despair of it. Their union in one point, may produce union in another; and, if the powers of Europe and America could form a college of justice, to which the sovereigns should appeal in all cases, and be bound to obey, what an honour to christianity, and what a saving of blood and treasure! The temple of Janus might then probably be shut; and may it be shut for ever!

I have perused your frame of government with satisfaction. It approaches nearer perfection than any I believe yet in being; and may those who framed it be blessed, and their posterity for ever happy!

The general ignorance that prevails here, of your abilities, intentions, and resources, is inconceivable. I often tell a story that my late deceased friend, dr. Russel, used to relate. He was one morning at the bashaw's divan, at Aleppo, when a countryman brought an antelope, which he said he had just caught, as a present; the bashaw enquired if it were male or female: he stooped down to ask one of the officers, which he would have it to be? Resolved to say what was pleasing, tho' the falsehood might have been detected in a moment. Just so are our superiors too often treated. People tell them what they wish to hear, and thus become the worst of enemies to both sides. And after such kinds of falsehoods have been successfully practised for a time, and at length have been found like the "baseless fabric of a vision," all con-

fidence in any set of men is given up. The passions then take the lead, the effects have been, are, and ever will be felt, beyond what it was possible for the authors of these calamities ever to comprehend.

I have endeavoured, as far as it was in my power, to give the best information I could, to those within my reach, but it was talking to the winds; experience itself will not convince them. But it will not be long that we shall do what we please; we must submit to laws given us by others. But I trust it will be for our good; it will make many think. We are as dissipated, as full of schemes for promoting diversions, as regardless of every thing serious, as if we were in high prosperity. War drains off multitudes; manufacturers especially; those who are left, have consequently more chance of employment; they are content with their lot, and think every thing goes on as well as usual; so a general deception prevails from the highest to the lowest; and to doubt of your subjugation, is heresy with many.

I most seriously wish that the calamities which have befallen you, or may yet be permitted to befall you, may have the proper effect of humbling your minds, and preserving you gratefully dependent on that invincible arm which has delivered those who honestly trust in it, in all ages. Little did I expect to see the present disunion, rather disjunction; but so it has been wisely permitted to happen. We were growing too great, powerful, proud, and wicked; the sources are gradually diminishing, and we are kindly compelled by force, to be less abandoned than we wished to be.

Our new parliament will meet ere long, and follow the steps exactly of the preceding. The minority in general, are far from being better men, in the true sense of the word, in my opinion, than their opponents. No two are agreed exactly in the same opinion; and I am afraid there are few amongst them, who would speak theirs, even in light matters, to another, were it to save a state from ruin. I give up all hopes of recovery by any human means. We deserve chastisement, and must feel it. The affair of Charleston has changed our tone a little, and we trust to the like good fortune

at last. You are supine, negligent, and incautious; most of your losses have originated from this quarter, and nothing will teach you circumspection. The moment you lose sight of immediate destruction, you are asleep.

I wish you could banish oaths entirely. They are an indignity to truth. The dissenters objected to swearing as well as we. Allowing our affirmation is a favour, we own. But why should it not be extended to all? Let us increase the consequence and dignity of simple truth. Guard yourselves from impositions, as much as you can; but let it not be at the expense of the sacred name. I wish, likewise, we could all become so far christians as to forbear fighting. It is the remains of Gothic savageness, unsubdued by the spirit of the gospel. It knows nothing of the immortal soul, or its state in futurity; it is merely the beast that fights, not the man. But the world is not yet ripe for such doctrines. A socratic teacher amongst us, arguing on this subject, asks, if it would not be better for mankind in general, if there were no wars? Yes certainly. We are assured that such a time is to come, and whether is it more probable that this disposition shall become general at once, or begin amongst a few, spread further by degrees, and at length become universal? Ought not those few, then, who think in their consciences that to them war is unlawful, to abstain from fighting? most certainly. This we think a good foundation for us to stand upon, without condemning others who are not to be persuaded. Have as much tenderness to such a people as you can. They are the best friends of humanity.

There is nothing tends so much to keep alive the spirit of war, as our education. We take part in all the spirit of heroism displayed with so much elegance by the Greek and Roman historians\*, till the spirit of

## NOTE.

\* The perusal of Quintus Curtius, and a consequent extravagant admiration of the romantic, or, in classic lan-

guage, the heroic character of Alexander, the depredating Macedonian, are said to have been the means of inspiring Charles XII. of Sweden, with those destructive ideas of glory and ambition, which, in the beginning of the present century, caused such dreadful devastation in the northern parts of Europe, dethroned one king, reduced himself to the abject state of a refugee among the Turks, and finally brought on his premature death, at thirty-six years of age, after having so far enervated his kingdom, that it has hardly recovered during the long period of peace, which his wisest though less heroic successors have since afforded it. This furnishes an awful confirmation of the justice of the observation in the text, which, it is hoped, will gradually force conviction on the minds of an enlightened people.—C.

I am obliged to write in haste, tho' the length of this may afford suspicion my time is not always employed to the best purposes. But as I have conceived a very favourable opinion of my very sensible correspondent, I could wish to give him every proof of it in my power.

With fervent wishes for universal peace, the happiness of America, and of every individual in it, that endears to promote its real interest, piety and virtue, I am to all such a very cordial friend.

J. FOTHERGILL.

## NOTE.

guage, the heroic character of Alexander, the depredating Macedonian, are said to have been the means of inspiring Charles XII. of Sweden, with those destructive ideas of glory and ambition, which, in the beginning of the present century, caused such dreadful devastation in the northern parts of Europe, dethroned one king, reduced himself to the abject state of a refugee among the Turks, and finally brought on his premature death, at thirty-six years of age, after having so far enervated his kingdom, that it has hardly recovered during the long period of peace, which his wisest though less heroic successors have since afforded it. This furnishes an awful confirmation of the justice of the observation in the text, which, it is hoped, will gradually force conviction on the minds of an enlightened people.—C.

# SELECT POETRY.

*Poem, written in Boston, at the commencement of the late revolution.*

FROM realms of bondage and a tyrant's reign,  
 Our godlike fathers bore no slavish chain;  
 To Pharaoh's face th' inspired patriarchs flood,  
 To seal their virtue, with a martyr's blood:  
 But lives so precious, such a sacred seed,  
 The source of empires, heav'n's high will decreed;  
 He snatch'd the saints from Pharaoh's impious hand,  
 And bade his chosen seek this distant land:  
 Then to these climes th' illustrious exiles sped,  
 'Twas freedom prompted, and the Godhead led,  
 Eternal woods the virgin soil defac'd,  
 A dreary desert, and an howling waste;  
 The haunt of tribes no pity taught to spare,  
 And they oppos'd them with remorseless war,  
 But heav'n's right arm led forth the faithful train,  
 The guardian Godhead swept th' insidious plain,  
 'Till the scour'd thicket amicable flood,  
 Nor dastard ambush trench'd the dusky wood:  
 Our fires then earn'd, no more, precarious bread,  
 Nor midst alarms their frugal meals were spread;  
 Fair boding hopes inur'd their hands to toil,  
 And patriot virtue nurs'd the thriving soil;  
 Nor scarce two ages have their periods run,  
 Since o'er their culture smil'd the genial sun;  
 And now what states extend their fair domains  
 O'er fleecy mountains and luxuriant plains!  
 Where happy millions their own fields possess,  
 No tyrant awes them, and no lords oppress;  
 The hand of rule, divine discretion guides,  
 And white-rob'd virtue o'er her paths presides,  
 Each polic'd order venerates the laws,  
 And each, ingenuous, speaks in freedom's cause;  
 The Spartan spirit, nor the Roman name,  
 The patriot's pride, shall rival these in fame;  
 Here all the sweets that social life can know,  
 From the full font of civil sapience flow;  
 Here golden Ceres clothes th' autumnal plain,  
 And art's fair empress holds her new domain;  
 Here angel science spreads her lucid wing,  
 And hark, how sweet the new-born muses sing!  
 Here gen'rous commerce spreads her lib'ral hand,  
 And scatters foreign blessings round the land.  
 Shall meagre Mammon, or proud lust of sway,  
 Reverse these scenes—will heav'n permit the day—  
 Shall in this era all our hopes expire,  
 And weeping freedom from her fanes retire?  
 Here shall the tyrant still our peace pursue,  
 From the pain'd eye-brow drink the vital dew?  
 Not nature's barrier wards our fathers' foe,  
 Seas roll in vain, and boundless oceans flow,—

Stay, Pharaoh\*, stay: that impious hand forbear,  
 Nor tempt the genius of our souls too far;

NOTE.

\* The king of Great Britain.



How oft, ungracious, in thy thankless stead,  
 'Mid scenes of death, our gen'rous youth have bled!  
 When the proud Gaul thy mightiest pow'rs repell'd,  
 And drove thy legions, trembling, from the field,  
 We rent the laurel from the victor's brow,  
 And round thy temples taught the wreath to grow †,  
 Say, when thy slaughter'd bands the desert dy'd,  
 Where lone Ohio rolls her gloomy tide,  
 Whose dreary banks their wasting bones enshrine,  
 What arm aveng'd them?—thankless! was it thine ‡?  
 But gen'rous valour scorns a boasting word,  
 And conscious virtue reaps her own reward:  
 Yet conscious virtue bids thee now to speak,  
 Though guilty blushes kindle o'er thy cheek:  
 If warring wars and painful toils at length,  
 Had dra'n'd our veins, and wither'd all our strength,  
 How could'st thou, cruel, form the vile design,  
 And round our necks the wreath of bondage twine?  
 And if some ling'ring spirit rous'd to strife,  
 Bid ruffian murder drink the dregs of life?  
 Shall future ages e'er forget the deed?  
 And shan't, for this, impious Britain bleed?  
 When comes the period heav'n predestines must,  
 When Europe's glories shall be whelm'd in dust,  
 When our proud fleets the naval wreath shall wear,  
 And o'er her empires hurl the bolts of war,  
 Unnerv'd by fate, the boldest heart shall fail,  
 And 'mid their guards, auxiliar kings grow pale:  
 In vain shall Britain lift her suppliant eye,  
 An alien'd offspring feels no filial tie,  
 Her tears in vain shall bathe the soldiers' feet,  
 Remember, ingrate, Boston's crimson'd street §;  
 Whole hecatombs of lives the deed shall pay,  
 And purge the murders of that guilty day ||.

But why to future periods look so far,  
 What force e'er fac'd us, that we fear'd to dare?  
 Then can'st thou think, e'en on this early day,  
 Proud force shall bend us to a tyrant's sway?  
 A foreign foe oppos'd our sword in vain\*,  
 And thine own troops we've rallied on the plain ††.  
 If then our lives your lawless sword invade,  
 Think'st thou, enslav'd, we'll kiss the pointed blade?  
 Nay, let experience speak—be this the test,  
 'Tis from experience that we reason best.—  
 When first the mandate shew'd the shameless plan,  
 To rank our race beneath the class of man,

NOTES.

† The taking of Louisbourg in the year 1745, by general Pepperell.

‡ The same year the king's troops were surprised near the banks of the Ohio; when our illustrious general Washington covered the retreat, and saved the destruction of the whole army. A body of the French was repulsed at an assault of the provincial lines at the westward, their general taken prisoner, and their whole army compelled to fly back to Canada.

§ The massacre of the 5th of March, 1770.

|| The poet seems to have been very prophetic in this beautiful passage.

\* The extirpation of the neutrals from Nova-Scotia.

†† The provincials covered the retreat from the French lines, at Ticonderoga, when the British general, Abercrombie, was defeated by the marquis Montcalm, in 1758.

Low as the brute to sink the human line,  
 Our toil our portion, and the harvest thine,  
 Modest but firm, we plead the sacred cause,  
 On nature bas'd, and sanction'd by the laws;  
 But your deaf ear the conscious plea deny'd,  
 Some demon counsel'd—and the sword reply'd;  
 Your navy then our haven cover'd o'er,  
 And arm'd battalions trespass'd on our shore,  
 Thro' the prime streets, they march'd in war's array,  
 At noon's full blaze, and in the face of day:  
 With dumb contempt we pass'd the servile show,  
 While scorn's proud spirit scowl'd on ev'ry brow;  
 Day after day successive wrongs we bore,  
 'Till patience, weary'd, could support no more,  
 'Till slaughter'd lives our native streets prophan'd,  
 And thy slaves' hand our hallow'd crimson stain'd,  
 No sudden rage the Russian soldier tore,  
 Or drench'd the pavements with his vital gore,  
 Delib'rate thought did all our souls compose,  
 'Till veil'd in glooms, the lousy morning rose;  
 No mob then furious urg'd th' impassion'd fray,  
 Nor clam'rous tumult din'd the solemn day.  
 In full convene the † city-senate sat,  
 Our fathers' spirit rul'd the firm debate;  
 The freeborn soul no reptile tyrant checks,  
 'Tis heav'n that dictates when the people speaks;  
 Loud from their tongues the awful mandate broke,  
 And thus, inspir'd, the sacred senate spoke;  
 Ye miscreant troops, be gone! our presence fly  
 Stray, if ye dare: but if you dare, ye die!  
 Ah! too severe, the fearful chief ‖ replies,  
 Permit one half—the other, instant, flies—  
 No parle, avault, or by our fathers' shades,  
 Your reeking lives shall glut our vengeful blades,  
 Ere morning's light, begone,—or else we swear,  
 Each slaughter'd corse shall feed the birds of air!  
 Ere morning's light had streak'd the skies with red,  
 The chieftain yielded, and the soldier fled.  
 'Tis thus experience speaks—the test forbear,  
 Nor shew these slates your feeble front of war,  
 But still your navies lord it o'er the main,  
 Their keels are natives of our oaken plain;  
 E'en the proud mast that bears your flag on high,  
 Grew on our soil, and ripen'd in our sky:  
 "Know then thyself, presume not us to scan,"  
 Your pow'r precarious, and your isle a span.—

Yet could our wrongs in just oblivion sleep,  
 And on each neck, reviv'd affection weep,  
 The brave are gen'rous, and the good forgive,  
 Then say you've wrong'd us, and our parent live\*;  
 But face not fate, oppose not heav'n's decree,  
 Let not that curse our mother light on thee.

## NOTES.

† The town meeting at Faneuil-hall.

‖ The infamous governor Hutchinson.

\* Her tyrants were too self-conceited, and too obstinate to take the advice of men of the best sense and understanding.—The consequence has been the establishment of liberty and universal commerce in America,

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Dublin, Aug

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\* Podar,  
 † Roman

To the publisher of the American Museum.

If I may hope to find a place in a publication, which is honoured with the productions of colonel Humphreys, a name equally dear and illustrious among the sons of freedom and literature, I shall be indebted to you for the insertion of the following lines in the American Museum.

Your affectionate brother,  
W. P. CAREY.

Dublin, August 2, 1788.

The incantation.

Matacoran, an Indian warrior, curious to know the event of battle, on the eve of an expedition, invokes the shade of his deceased father, from whom, by powerful spells, he receives the sure presages of victory.

Scene. A wild country. Moonlight.

FIVE chiefs of renown by his arrows lay dead,  
Ere the blood of my father in battle was shed :  
He fell by the side of the dark, winding stream ;  
But the vallies resound with the song of his fame.

How sweet is his sleep in the night of the grave !  
For dear is revenge to the soul of the brave !  
O'er his ashes his foe Potow-ma-mack I tore !  
And sprinkled the mantle of earth with his gore !

Like a tyger, undaunted, he rush'd to the war !  
Like thunder he struck, and spread terror afar !  
As the pleasures of love, or the spring of the year,  
His name to the race of Nuncomar is dear.

The pleasures of love are too mighty to last,  
In a moment the bliss of enjoyment is past !  
The blossoms of spring, in their pride fade away :  
But the laurel of valour shall never decay !

Three scalps of the conquer'd to Podar\* I burn ;  
At whose voice from Ronama†, the spirits return !  
A snake, black with venom, I cast in the flame,  
And call on the shade of my father by name !

In his glory he comes, like a star in the skies !  
He smiles—and the omens of triumph arise,  
He speaks, and the time of my wishes is near,  
When the race of my foes shall in blood disappear !

In the gloom of the forest, securely they sleep,  
But long ere the sun shall illumine the deep,  
This hand, which the demons of ruin shall guide,  
In a tempest of slaughter shall scatter their pride.



The American Militia.

NO art excites—nor martial music's charms,  
The soldier's soul to deeds of glory warm,  
Nor hostile arms emblaze the pompful plain,  
Nor guards their naked front the brazen train,  
Untutor'd these in war's experienc'd school,  
By nature brave, and unoblig'd by rule,

NOTES.

\* Podar, the god of the winds, and ruler of deceased spirits.

† Ronama, the abode of the valiant after death.





New schemes and tricks the lion tries,  
To make the sturdy bulls his prize,  
And by his jealous hints and fears,  
Set all together by the ears.

His engines were not set in vain,  
Suspicion agitates their brain ;  
They soon grew fearful of each other,  
Each scorn'd and shunn'd his fearful brother ;  
Each feels his consequence—his pride ;  
They doubt each other ; they divide.

For want of friendship's pow'rful slay,  
The bulls become an easy prey—  
The lion sees his conquest done,  
And slays the thirteen, one by one.

We thus (it must appear to all)  
United stand—divided fall.



*Horace, lib. I. ode XXII. imitated. Inscribed to the  
lady of Samuel Ogle, esq.*

THE christian hero, pure from sin,  
Serene, and fortify'd within,  
Defies the rage of civil jars,  
Assembly-feuds, and foreign wars ;  
Nor wants the troops, brave Amherst led.  
He, safe in sanctity of life,  
From the French sword and Indian knife,  
Ne'er dreads a circumcision of the head.

Whether he purposes to go  
Thro' Apalachian rocks and snow,  
Canadian forests, Funda's frost,  
Or bleak Ontario's barb'rous coast ;  
Or visits Niagara's falls,  
With soul, not liable to fear,  
He sees tremendous dangers near ;  
Smiling, he sees ; superior to them all.

'Tis true, fair friend ; no evil can  
Surprise the heav'n-protected man.  
—As thro' thy pleasing lawns I stray'd ;  
(While virtue, like a blooming maid,  
Employ'd my thoughts on all her charms)  
From neighb'ring groves, with threat'ning eyes,  
A buffalo of monstrous size,  
Rush'd sudden forth, nor gave my soul alarms !

Such never drank Ohio's floods,  
Or bellow'd in Virginian woods ;  
Such, and so fierce, did ne'er advance  
'Gainst Spanish don, with daring lance ;  
Such ne'er in Hole of Hockley \* bled.  
Yet me, unarm'd, the savage saw,

NOTE.

\* Notorious for bull baiting.

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With fear and reverential awe,  
Spurning the ground, he came, he gaz'd, he fled.

Place me on Hudson's dreary shore,  
Where icy mountains, burling, roar ;  
Where hyperborean tempests blow ;  
Where tree or shrub can never grow ;  
(Virtue, bright goddess ! I'm prepar'd !)  
Place me, where howling swamps extend,  
A gloomy wild, without an end !  
Yet virtue there shall be her vot'ry's guard !

Cast me amidst the hissing brood,  
When sultry Sirius † fires their blood ;  
Where from th' inhospitable brake  
Dire basilisks their rattles shake :  
Yet, virtue, thou shalt cheer the place :  
And, strongly imag'd in my mind,  
Within my raptur'd heart inshrin'd,  
Shalt sweetly talk, and smile with Ogle's grace !  
*Kent, in Maryland, October 25, 1758.*

*Elegiac ode, sacred to the memory of general Greene.*

SAY, shall the bards of ancient Greece and Rome,  
In all the pathos of impassion'd woe,  
Mourn with their country, at the hero's tomb,  
And fire a world to emulation's glow ?  
Shall weeping muses quit Pierian groves,  
To deck the sod, where rest the good, the brave,  
And shall the warrior, whom an empire loves,  
Repose, unsung, unhonour'd in the grave ?

Forbid it, heav'n ! Columbia claims the song :  
Touch'd with her griefs, I sweep the plaintive lyre :  
To her, to Greene, immortal strains belong—  
An angel's pencil, and a seraph's fire.  
Whilst sacred truth, from realms of light divine,  
Shall pour the tide of intellectual day,  
And lead my footsteps to the hero's shrine,  
Where patriots guard, and freemen watch the clay.

When first Britannia bath'd her sword in gore,  
His soul, indignant, spurn'd the peaceful shade ;  
Instant he arm'd, to brave the lion's roar,  
And the keen terrors of the Highland blade.  
Prompt at his call, to hostile fields he led  
The hardy yeomen of his native isle\*,  
True sons of liberty—whom virtue bred,  
Strong for the labours of Herculean toil.

Mild of access—in him, no little pride  
Obscur'd the greatness of a noble mind :  
He felt for all—the soldier at his side  
Brought down the sweetest "milk of human kind."

NOTES.

† The dog-star.

\* General Greene commanded the troops raised by the state of Rhode Island, the first campaign of the late war,

For council honour'd—in the camp belov'd  
Sagacious, cool, amid the storm serene—  
Heroes rever'd—applauding states approv'd—  
And Albion trembled at the name of Greene.

Ofi have his limbs the frozen earth compress,  
Whilst round his head the watry torrent pour'd :  
Thick clouds the curtains to his couch of rest,  
Where the bleak wind and midnight hail-storm roar'd :  
And oft advancing with the solar ray,  
His banners flam'd to meet the lightning's glare,  
In torrid realms of more than burning day—  
Sad haunts of death, and plagues, and putrid air.

These hallow'd truths, inscrib'd on glory's roll,  
Written in blood on honour's purple vest,  
Shall gallant warriors, born of kindred soul,  
With conscious pride, and martial zeal attest.  
Illustrious men ! ye nerv'd his mighty hand,  
To crush the savage on the warlike plain ;  
When to the south he wheel'd his conqu'ring band,  
And broke the iron of oppression's chain.

Around the shores, which Hudson's billows lave †,  
His laurel wreaths shall ever verdant bloom,  
And Trenton's cypress shade the hero's grave,  
Whilst pensive Princeton mourns his early tomb.  
August abodes ! ye heard the trumpet's sound,  
Which bade his columns range, his squadrons form,  
Ye saw his couriers snuff th' embattled ground,  
And Greene, triumphant, rule the vengeful storm.

Array'd in tears—and garb of fable hue,  
See Brandywine the chieftain's hearse attend,  
And Germantown ‡ lament—and Monmouth, rob'd in yew,  
And Ashley's waters wail their godlike friend.  
Immortal grounds ! the theme of ev'ry age,  
Your meanest dust shall speak the hero's praise,  
Here bolted vengeance burst with tenfold rage,  
And there he drove the lightning's rapid blaze.

Nor less illustrious are the banks of Dan,  
Or Guilford's fields, where seats of bold emprise  
Proclaim the genius of the matchless man :  
Through all the regions, mark'd by azure skies,  
Ye saw his arms the vollied thunders deal,  
Which check'd Cornwallis in his mid career,  
With Tarleton's sword, and Rawdon's murd'rous steel,  
And savage Balfour pal'd with guilty fear.

Illustrious spots of earth's high favour'd mould !  
What, though no clarions swell to dire alarms,  
And no proud chief, in pomp of burnish'd gold,  
Leads on his troops in the bright glow of arms ;

NOTES,

† On Hudson's banks, at Trenton, Princeton, and Brandywine.

‡ At Germantown, Monmouth, and in South-Carolina, general Greene was honoured with distinguished command,

Yet shall the vet'ran there recount the tale  
Of armies rais'd, uncloth'd, unfed, unpaid,  
Who flood the summer's heat, the winter's gale,  
Nor turn'd their bosoms from the tyrant's blade.

Such were the men, who own'd the pow'r of Greene,  
When the shrill music, length'ning down the line,  
Urg'd rank on rank, to try the dubious scene,  
And combat hosts, by despots thought divine.  
Thrice honour'd chief! the work of death is past,  
Thy task completed, smiling peace descends,  
Hush'd is the din—and mute the trumpet's blast,  
And ardent warriors greet as ancient friends.

Mature in life—with endless honour crown'd—  
Too bright for earth, and fit for purer skies,  
Celestial bands his mighty deeds resound,  
Whilst thus, aloud, a prince of angels cries:  
“At God's decree, by heav'n's high throne, I swear,  
“’Tis done! ’tis done! his time shall be no more!  
“Thou king of death, descend on wings of air,  
“And waft the hero to his native shore.”

Th’ obedient monarch clefth’ ætherial way,  
His golden darts were tip’d with sacred fire,  
He rode the chariot of eternal day,  
And, fleet as lightning, pass’d th’ applauding choir,  
His radiant form the hero kenn’d afar,  
Resolv’d in death to boast supernal fame,  
He mounted swift, lash’d on the burning car,  
And tow’r’d sublime in robes of solar flame.

According spirits tun’d the song of love,  
From heav’nly harps was heard triumphant praise,  
Which breath’d thrice welcome to the climes above,  
In the mild music of harmonious lays.  
A pause ensu’d—the melting lyre was still,  
And this the voice which trumpets roll’d around,  
“Go, fix the hero’s throne on glory’s hill,  
“And be the chief, by mightiest warriors crown’d.”

The laurel wreath was borne in Warren’s hand,  
The great Montgom’ry thron’d th’ immortal Greene,  
The gentle Mercer join’d the festive band,  
And gallant Laurens grac’d the glorious scene.  
Uncounted vet’rans throng’d the blest abodes—  
Loud swell’d the notes to extacy divine,  
And Spartan heroes, next in rank to Gods,  
Proclaim’d with Wolfe the palm of merit thine.

~~~~~  
Errata in the September Museum.

Page 257, col. 1, line 37, dele *them*. P. 258, col. 1, l. 12, for *remains* read *remains*. Line 34, for *mechanical* read *the mechanical*.—Page 259, col. 1, line 3, for *destrations* read *distinctions*. Col. 2, line 20, for *east* read *eastern*. Line 22, for *parity* read *purity*. Line 48 for *judicial* read *judicials*. Line 57 for *swallow* read *swallow*. Line *penult.* after *judicial* add *or*. Page 260, col. 2, line 49, for *as* read *is*. Page 262, col. 2, line 21, after *arcos*, add *be represented, will*. Page 263, col. 2, line 6, for *now* read *now*. Line 14, for *unattached*, read *unattached*. Line 28, for *union* read *unions*. Line 34 for *bound* read *bounded*.



## Foreign Intelligence.

London, September 2.

**T**HE last deputation of the states of Brittany to the French king, consisted of 52 persons; one third from among the clergy; another, from the nobility; and the other from amongst the gentry. The terms which they demanded were: First. The recall and liberty of all their members who have been exiled or imprisoned; Secondly. The establishment of their parliament, and other tribunals of the province, such as they were before the first of May last: Thirdly. The complete restoration of all the privileges of the province.

Sept. 3. There are letters in town from France, which state, that not only the parliaments will be re-established, but that the states-general, which were to meet the first of May next, will be assembled on the first of January.

The French treasury is empty. Had not the public payments been intercepted, to the great amount of 71. 6d. in the pound, the progress of office must literally have stopped.

On Saturday last, at 12 o'clock, the archbishop of Sens, prime minister of France, was dismissed from his employments, in consequence of the disorders occasioned by his edicts of the 16th and 18th ult. His dismissal was followed by that of the whole party who have advised the king to contend with his parliaments. On Monday evening, M. Neckar was nominated minister and director-general of the finances; his appointment was received in Paris with an universal joy. This intelligence comes by a courier extraordinary, arrived yesterday from Paris to the French ambassador.

As to M. Neckar's operations, they cannot be creative; they can respect arrangements alone. The expenditure of the nation far exceeds the national revenue.

The deficit is now almost five millions sterling per annum! For the archbishop, like his predecessors, left the revenue worse than he found it!

A very bloody engagement has happened between the Swedes and Russians, on the borders of Finland. Every thing that could animate the

troops on both sides, assisted. Both the king of Sweden and the grand duke of Russia headed their respective forces.

In the onset the Russians had considerably the advantage, and attacked the left wing of the Swedish force with great bravery and effect—taking from them the whole of their artillery, with 300 prisoners. The king, at the head of a few regiments, instantly flew to their relief, and the soldiers, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, rallied and charged afresh with the greatest fury and conduct, and put to flight the whole of the Russian army. The count Mulchim Possbin and 4000 prisoners, with the whole artillery, fell into the hands of the Swedes.

The grand duke retreated with the scattered remains of his army into the fortress of Wyburg, which was immediately invested by the king of Sweden.

The capture of Wyburg is of the last importance to Russia, for should it fall, Petersburg must be open to every danger and attack, and in all probability will surrender. The plunder of this place would pay the expenses of the whole war.

The above news is confirmed to us through various channels, and leaves but little room to doubt. It comes from three different quarters.

The report of a second engagement at sea between these powers, as it now comes to us, leaves little room to doubt its veracity. Letters from Pillau and Konigsberg speak of it as certain. The loss of the Russians is two ships of the line, which, it is said, are arrived at Stockholm. The fight took place between Helsingfors and Revel.

—————  
American Intelligence.

Charleston, October 18.

Yesterday, a committee, appointed by the senate to take into consideration the state of the republic, brought up a report, which declared the distressed state of the country to be so great as to call on the wisdom of the legislature for relief, and that a bill should be brought in for that purpose. On the yeas and nays being called,

there appeared to be for a bringing in a bill 12, against it 6.

A letter from Grenville, dated October 9, says "The people here have entered into a resolution to stop all sheriffs' sales, and actually effected it last Friday. They yesterday met on the same business, but the matter was compromised before the sheriff came."



*Albany, September 29.*

On Thursday last, his excellency the governor and other commissioners returned to this city from Fort-Schuyler; where they have held treaties with the Onondaga and Oneida Indians. These nations have ceded all their lands to this state. The lands, on both sides of the river, whereon the Onondaga village stands, being a tract of about nine miles in length, and about eight miles in breadth, are to remain for ever for the use of the Onondagas; and the lands, for one mile around the salt lake, are to remain for the common benefit of the citizens of the state, and the Onondagas, to furnish fuel for making salt: a very large tract is, in like manner, to remain for the use of the Oneidas.—The lands, so to remain for the Onondagas and the Oneidas, are, however, not to be sold, leased, or in any other manner alienated or disposed of by these respective nations. A tract of four miles in breadth, and extending from the line of property to the western boundary of the Oneida territory, is also appropriated for the benefit of the Oneidas; with respect to which, they have a power to make leases for twenty-one years. The lands, for one mile on each side of Fish-creek, are to remain ungranted, and to be for the common benefit of the citizens of the state and the Oneidas, to encamp and stand on; and an half mile square, at the distance of every six miles, along the northern bank of the Oneida lake, is to remain for the same purpose.

The Oneidas have stipulated, that a tract of ten miles square, on the north side of the Oneida lake, shall be granted to Mr. Penet, of Schenectady, as a benevolence from their nation to him; and a tract of two miles square is also to be granted to Mr. Peralthe,

in satisfaction of an injury done to him by one of their nation.

Of the lands reserved for the use of the Oneidas, the Stockbridge Indians, and also the New-England Indians, under the pastoral care of the rev. Mr. Ocum, are to have their present respective settlements. The former, six miles square, and the latter two miles in breadth and three miles in length. The Oneidas have also requested, that a mile square, adjoining to the tracts of Mr. Dean, and of the lands to be reserved for their own use, should be granted to Mr. Bleeker, in return for his frequent good offices to them.

One thousand crowns in silver, and goods to the amount of about two hundred pounds, were paid to the Onondagas, and the state is to allow them annually five hundred dollars.—Two thousand dollars in silver—goods to the amount of eight hundred pounds, and provisions to the amount of four hundred pounds, were paid to the Oneidas, and they are to be allowed annually six hundred dollars.

During the treaty, a deputation of about seventy persons from the Seneca nation, waited on the commissioners. Their visit, however, was only intended as a mark of respect; their sachems and principal chiefs having, previous to the treaty at Fort-Schuyler, set out to attend the general treaty at Mufkingum,



*Salem, September 30.*

Accounts from the city of Marietta say, that within 12 months past, more than 10,000 emigrants have passed that place to Kentucke and other parts on the Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. The greater part of these are not owners of any lands in the countries to which they have migrated, but expect to become purchasers; and many of them would have become settlers on the Ohio company's tract, had the arrangements of the company been so far completed as to hold out the necessary encouragement to them.

At a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company, on the banks of the Mufkingum, July 2d, it was resolved, that the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Mufkingum rivers, be called Marietta;

that the city, including block-houses; the Quadrangle the square the great to Quadr

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that the reserved public square in the city, including the buildings at the block-houses, be called *Campus Martius*; the elevated square, No. 11, *Quadranaou*: No. 19, *Capitolium*: the square No. 61, *Cecilia*: and the great road through the covert way to *Quadranaou*, *Sacra Via*.

Winchester, October 22.

We are informed, that an expedition was set on foot against the Indians, the beginning of last month, to be conducted by general Martin. The men under his command amounted to about four hundred and fifty, who marched to some of the Chickamawgo towns without interruption; but in attempting to cross a very rocky mountain to one of their principal towns, a number of the savages who lay hid in the rocks, shot three captains dead, who were in front, and wounded a few of the men: the savages immediately fled into the mountain. The whites killed one Indian, and a Negro, and wounded others. They would have pursued the savages, but having suffered much for want of provision, and no great hopes of a supply, they judged it expedient to return. The field officers are to meet to-morrow, to consult what is best to be done:—It is expected the result will be, either to treat with them, or carry on another expedition. If something effectual does not soon take place, the frontiers of this country will be in a deplorable situation.

Philadelphia, October 1.

Congress, by a resolve of the 16th ult. recommended to the several states, to pass proper laws for preventing the transportation of convicted malefactors from foreign countries into the united states.

October 8.

On Saturday last a motion was made in the general assembly for recommending the letter from the convention of New-York, signed by governor Clinton, to the attention of the next assembly. After a short debate, the motion was negatived by 38 against 23.—

October 15.

One night last week 33 of the criminals, commonly called wheelbarrow men, broke out of the jail of this city; since which several of them have been retaken; but the remainder have resumed their former practices of depredation upon the persons and property of the inhabitants. Their custom is to change clothes with those they rob.

The assembly of Connecticut have passed an act for preventing the importation of convicts from foreign countries—another to prevent negro traffic—and one to organize congress.

October 31.

This day the associate presbytery of Pennsylvania met in the hall of the university, and ordained the rev. D. Goodwillie, and the rev. John Anderson, to the holy ministry. The rev. Thomas Beveredge presided in the ordination of mr. Goodwillie, and preached in the forenoon, from 2 Cor. iv. 1. Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not. The rev. William Marshall presided in the ordination of mr. Anderson, and preached in the afternoon, from Prov. xi. 35. He that winneth souls is wise.

#### MARRIAGES.

In Philadelphia, John Caldwell, esq. to miss ——— Caldwell.

At Pittsburgh, lieut. Matthew Ernest to miss Kitty Wilkins.

In Baltimore, mr. Standish Barry to miss Thomson.

In New York, Jacob Hockstrasser, esq. to miss Judith Hone. Monsieur de Marcelleine to miss Catharine Ackley. Mr. James Bleecker to miss Bache.

In Boston, mr. Joseph Tony to miss Betsey Gendell. Mr. John Adams to miss Fanny Cowing.

At Salem, the rev. John Murray to mrs. Judith Stephens.

#### DEATHS.

In Philadel. miss Mary Rhoads. Mr. Matthias Landenberger, Major Thomas Caldorp. Mr. Thomas Micklethwait.

In Lancaster, major John Doyle. At Lewes, miss Anne Molliffen.

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